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2009

Southern Academic Review



Volume 76

2009

Southern Academic Review

A Student Journal of Scholarship

Volume Seventy-Six

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Southern Academic Review (SAR) is published every spring by students of Birmingham-Southern College. It is funded by the Student Government Association and operates under the supervision of the Student Publications Board. SAR seeks to publish material of scholarly interest to the students and faculty of Birmingham-Southern College and the editorial scope encompasses all disciplines. Fully annotated research papers and shorter essays receive equal consideration for publication. SAR accepts submissions from any currently enrolled student of the college. No submission will be considered if it has been previously submitted for academic credit at an institution other than Birmingham-Southern. For more information, please contact the Southern Academic Review Office at (205) 226-7704.

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Note

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Poor Kitties and Papa: Hemingway's Gender Sympathies in "Cat in the Rain"

Allison Schuver

Ernest Hemingway carries the legendary reputation of a sexist and misogynist. Because of this, it is often assumed that the author was incapable of creating an honest female in his writing and that he always celebrated masculine prowess while belittling his female characters. Hemingway's sympathies are said most often to have aligned with his popular character type, the "Hemingway Code Hero," a male character – never a female – who exudes grace under pressure and a tragic sense of honor. However, recent critics have been more cautious about Hemingway's attitudes toward men and women, factoring the author's struggle with his own gender identity into their interpretations of his texts. Some see the author's machismo as compensation for his gender confusion, as documented in Mark Spilka's 1990 *Hemingway's Quarrel with Androgyny*. With this new research, Carl P. Eby predicts in his 1999 study *Hemingway's Fetishism: Psychoanalysis and the Mirror of Manhood*, "Hemingway's reign as the hairy-chested icon of American masculinity is coming to an end" (3). However, a reduction of the author as a "macho hunter, drinker, womanizer, and misogynist" still lingers in popular perceptions (Bauer 125).

In this paper, I will argue that Hemingway's short story "Cat in the Rain," published in the 1925 collection *In Our Time*, complicates our notion of how Hemingway treats gender in his writing. In "Cat in the Rain," Hemingway depicts a strong and honest female character with sympathy for her womanly desires. The author projects a good bit of himself onto the female character, stemming from the 1922 loss of his manuscripts and his documented hair fetish, manifested in cats throughout the author's life and fiction. Nonetheless, the result is a protagonist who is distinctly feminine. With the female character, I do not intend to define essential femininity; rather, my claim is that the author transcends his own stereotypes of womanhood to create a more complete and honest female character than is considered typical in his writing. In a short-story collection filled with graphic scenes of war, bullfighting, and general mascu-

linity, Hemingway uncharacteristically switches his focus to the feminine in “Cat in the Rain.” By tapping into his own loneliness and dissatisfaction, Hemingway presents a mature female character who is lucidly aware of her isolation.

In brief, “Cat in the Rain” concerns an American couple staying at a hotel in Italy owned by an older, dignified Italian man – the *padrone* – whom the wife holds in high regard. They are the only Americans at the hotel. On a rainy afternoon, the couple is sequestered in their hotel room; as the husband lies reading on the bed, the wife looks out the window and spots a cat trying to keep dry in the rain. Her husband offers to retrieve the cat for her, but she insists that she do it herself. As she walks outside, the *padrone* sends a maid after her with an umbrella. But when she reaches the spot, the cat is gone. She passes the *padrone* on her way back up to the room and silently admires him. Once she is upstairs again, the wife tells her husband how badly she wanted the cat, saying, “It isn’t any fun to be a poor kitty out in the rain.” Rather emphatically, she continues to tell her husband other things she wants in life, from long hair to her own silver. Her husband, who has been reading while lying on the bed, responds to her desires with indifference, eventually telling her to “Shut up and get something to read.” The story ends with a knock at the door; holding a cat, a maid says, “The *padrone* asked me to bring this for the Signora” (IOT 91-94).

The story begins with an immediate elevation of the feminine. The first paragraph of the only four-page story describes the setting of the Italian hotel: the couple’s window “fac[es] the sea,” which is traditionally personified as female. “Faces” suggests an intimacy that “close to” or “nearby” does not convey—the window directly frames the feminine setting, a frame that will be carried through the rest of the story. Furthermore, the room also “faced the public garden and the war monument.” Again, the feminine image of a green, fertile garden is emphasized; although here, it is juxtaposed with the war monument, a memorial to the dead male. But, the rain that falls on the scene casts the feminine in a state of dreariness and gray isolation. Although rain is often regenerative in literature, the dismal weather is contrasted with the ideal: the story reads, “In the good weather there was always an artist with his easel” rendering the “bright colors of the hotels facing the gardens and the sea” (IOT 91). But in the rain, the artist admiring the garden and the sea

is nowhere to be found. Perhaps a precursor to Hemingway's 1929 novel *A Farewell to Arms*, rain in this short story alienates those caught in its path. As the female character projects herself onto the cat trying to protect itself from the rain – and as she braves the weather to try to rescue it – the feminine is exposed to the alienating elements.

The setting comes to mimic the dynamic of the American couple inside the hotel; the female is alive with movement and emotion while the husband lies unmoving on the bed. The husband contrasts with the female, the garden, and the sea and mirrors what the war monument memorializes—an injured soldier immobilized on a hospital bed. However, the male is not cared for by a female nurse as in other Hemingway texts. Rather, the female character is busy with her own thoughts, desires, and actions. No physical contact occurs between husband and wife, and their dialogue is hardly a conversation; the wife speaks with poignancy and zeal, but the husband responds with short, choppy, and disinterested answers. The dialogue is oddly one-sided: the wife says 200-plus words to her husband and he responds with only 29 words, only three of which contain more than one syllable. Furthermore, the husband reads a book throughout the story, only rarely looking up or resting his eyes. He is inwardly involved, unaware of his wife's desires despite her later clarity when she tries to tell them to him. His autonomy contrasts with the wife's several attempts at connection, whether with her husband, the padrone, her reflection in the mirror, or the cat. Like the garden and the sea, the female character overflows with feminine life, and like a dead or injured soldier, her husband is unresponsive.

Such a positive emphasis on the female is not considered typical in Hemingway texts; thus, the protagonist in "Cat in the Rain" perplexes readers and critics alike. Overall, critics are interested in the female character's level of feminine maturity in the story; that is, the debate concerns whether Hemingway presents a mature woman or just another girl without substance. As Lisa Tyler sums up in "'I'd Rather No Hear': Women and Men in Conversation in 'Cat in the Rain' and 'The Sea Change,'" some critics dismiss the girl completely, complaining about her "irrational yearnings," "narcissism," and "romantic fantasy of being treated like a princess" (73-74). Most readings play off of the significance of the cat as a projection of the female's desire to be a mother, from a certitude that she longs to be pregnant to interpretations that she already is

(Bennett 249, Hagopian 221). However, these readings work with only one facet of the female, maternal desire, and thus confine her to a simple character type. The attention to this in the text is an extension of critics' common attempt to categorize Hemingway's fictional females.

In their seminal 1994 work *Hemingway's Genders: Rereading the Hemingway Text*, Nancy R. Comley and Robert Scholes attempt such a classification of Hemingway's females by dividing the characters into five types: Mothers, Nurses, Bitches, Girls, and Devils. These categories are closely tied to Hemingway biography, as many of the author's female characters correspond to the female figures in his own life. For "mothers," Comley and Scholes point to the short story "Soldier's Home" and, biographically, Hemingway's own mother, Grace Hall Hemingway. For "nurses," they look to Catherine Barkley in *A Farewell to Arms* and Hemingway's first romantic relationship with World War I nurse Agnes von Kurowsky. For "bitches," those women who manipulate their men for power and money, the authors look to Lady Brett Ashley in *The Sun Also Rises*. "Girls" are the insignificant, beautiful young things who sweetly pass through Hemingway texts and whose only purpose is to please their men. Meanwhile, "Devils" are the too-significant, beautiful young things who sexually manipulate their partners, most notably seen in Catherine Bourne in *The Garden of Eden* (21-72).

While Comley and Scholes's classification is warranted for many of Hemingway's female characters, the female in "Cat in the Rain" is too complex to cleanly fit into one character type. She is not a mother and there is no evidence that she is a nurse. She is not a bitch, nor is she a devil. For our female protagonist, this leaves the "girl" category. She is called "girl" three times in the text. But, on the surface, the term seems dismissive and belittling when it is assigned to an adult woman. To be sure, Hemingway often struggled with his girl characters as a male-centered writer. Comley and Scholes assert, "The girl, as a character type, is usually fatal to Hemingway's writing unless he is able to move the character away from a fantasy of compliant gratification toward womanhood" (52). Here, Hemingway is able to advance the female character in "Cat in the Rain" from a sole importance of serving her man toward a woman's independent identity.

While the female seems to be girl-like at times, she does not possess the typical characteristics that Comley and Scholes define. As the

authors point out, “Girl is a very American term” and Hemingway’s girls were typically ideal American beauties—“long-legged, strong-shouldered, high-cheekboned, slender, and blonde” (50, 51). The female in “Cat in the Rain” is an American, so her categorization as “girl” could apply in that respect, but the story contains no evidence of her “all-American” looks or physical beauty. These things do not matter for her as they do for the standard “girl” type. The only reference to her appearance occurs in the discussion of the woman’s hair between husband and wife. The female character tells her husband that she is tired of her short, boyish haircut and that she wants to grow it out. He replies, “I like it the way it is” and later, “You look pretty darn nice” (IOT 93). Hair is a common concern in Hemingway’s gender biography; Carl P. Eby’s 1999 book *Hemingway’s Fetishism* charts the author’s strong attraction to boyish haircuts on women and to wearing matching haircuts with his lovers. While this is subtle in “Cat in the Rain,” the woman’s appearance tells us more about the gender complexity of the author than about a reductive characterization of the wife’s appearance.

Comley and Scholes’s main claim about the term “girl” is that it “signals a refusal to grow up, for the term woman carries maternal freight... Womanhood negates girlhood” (50). Here, the authors separate girlhood and womanhood into two distinctly different life stages. Though the protagonist is never called a “woman” in the text, her characterization gives her womanly freight. The nameless character is called “the wife” six times in the text, and to the Italian hotel-workers, she is “the Signora.” While “wife” can be a limiting term, suggesting that a woman is defined only through her relationship to a man, the title carries more maturity than does “the girl.” Likewise, the title “Signora” – which translates to “lady” – suggests a respect that comes only with age. However, the title “the girl” bears significance when it does appear in the text. The protagonist is called by this title only when she is away from her husband and searching for the cat in the rain. For several critics, this change in title, from “wife” to “girl,” demotes the character’s level of feminine maturity because she fails to find the cat that she wishes to care for in a maternal way (Hagopian 221, Bennett 252-53). Though this failure might temporarily lower her level of femininity, I believe it is later restored in the text, as the shift back to a more mature title suggests.

It seems that this relevance of title would not be so complex if the female character in "Cat in the Rain" simply had a name. Her namelessness might immediately cast her as an insignificant character to some, especially since her husband has a name: George. However, the female character was named "Kitty" in the early drafts of the story (Smith 43). Her namelessness falls under Hemingway's "theory of omission" or "iceberg principle": "If a writer of prose knows enough about what he is writing about he may omit things that he knows and the reader, if the writer is writing truly enough, will have a feeling of those things as strongly as though the writer had stated them" (Hemingway qtd. in Eby 23). The character's namelessness in the final draft does not imply her unimportance. Rather, the omission of her name signals an intimacy with the author and the cat that she wants to care for (as detailed in further sections of this paper).

Despite the lack of a name, the female's presence in the story suggests that she is more than a meaningless "girl" character. It is true that the woman's status as a traveling American in Europe does not convey any pressing responsibility that comes along with maturity. There is no evidence of the maternal, domestic, or professional demands of womanhood in the text. But, the female character displays a great sense of maturity when she pronounces her desires. After she returns to the room without finding the cat out in the rain, the woman tells her husband how badly she wanted the cat, saying, "I wanted it so much... I don't know why I wanted it so much" (IOT 93). As she talks to her husband about the cat, she breaks into a catalog of more things she wants in her life:

"I want to pull my hair back tight and smooth and make a big knot at the back that I can feel," she said. "I want to have a kitty sit on my lap and purr when I stroke her." [...] "And I want to eat at a table with my own silver and I want candles. And I want it to be spring and I want to brush my hair out in front of a mirror and I want a kitty and I want some new clothes." (93-94)

Although the repetition of "I want" might suggest the demanding nature of a child, the female expresses herself with clarity and confidence. Her honest and forceful desires are not those of a spoiled narcissist; rather, they reflect the woman's mature sense of self. Furthermore, the specific things the woman lists have a traditionally feminine flair to them without making the character a simple, materialistic caricature. As the

feminine setting is framed in the character's view out of the window, so too is her own femininity framed in the details of her desires. For the woman, long hair would signify her feminine identity, something that has been lost in her relationship with her husband. Her "own" collection of silver would give the woman a sense of independence and autonomy, something that is only hers. Moreover, a collection could be an heirloom in which her identity could live on. Even a desire for new clothes is not as shallow as it first seems—a new appearance would provide the woman with a stronger sense of her feminine self. With springtime, she desires a rebirth of her identity, from an undervalued girl to a worthwhile woman; she is acutely aware that a change is necessary. Again, the honesty with which she announces her desires grants the woman such respect that no judgment can be passed. The woman tells all of these things to George, and there is a sense that she has not used this insistence before. With this spontaneous urgency, she lists her desires for herself as much as she does for her husband.

Just as the female character is elevated above immature girlhood with her womanly desires, so too does she transcend it in her awareness that all that she wants might not be possible. After George tells her to shut up, dismissing her because he does not want to deal with her, the woman says, "Anyway, I want a cat... If I can't have long hair or any fun, I can have a cat" (IOT 94). With this slight concession, the female acknowledges that some of her desires might be unattainable, even unreasonable—no matter how much she wants, she cannot immediately have long hair or make it springtime. This distinction is one brought about by maturity. But, she refuses to be completely defeated. She knows that she deserves at least one thing she wants—at least she can have a cat. Through her speech and slight concession, the character moves beyond the trivial and into a more realistic world of maturity and womanhood.

Another detail that furthers the female character's feminine maturity is the acknowledgment and control of her sexual desires. That the woman wants "a kitty to sit on [her] lap and purr when she stroke[s] her" is overtly sexual, particularly autoerotic, though many critics do not choose to address it. However, critics have noted George's disinterest in his wife's sexuality. When the woman first says, "I'm going down and get that kitty," her husband offers, "I'll do it" (IOT 91). In his analysis of "Cat in the Rain," critic Warren Bennett believes that because the husband

offers to help from his position on the bed, “there is no such will in him” to “get up and take action” (251). In another interpretation of the text, critic David Lodge analyzes George’s position on the bed: “It is worth noticing that he is reading on the bed – a place for sleeping and making love; and the perversity of this behavior is symbolized by the fact that he is lying on the bed the wrong way round” (18). Even more, Bennett notes that the husband lies “propped up with two pillows,” presumably “both hers as well as his”; thus, George does not make any time or space for his wife (253).

Some critics are more lenient in their evaluation of George, though the behaviors that they excuse are exactly what increase the woman’s sense of isolation and distance from her husband. George does invite his wife to “get something to read,” presumably on the bed beside him (IOT 94); but, this invitation is purely nonsexual and leaves the woman to her own self-pleasing devices. However, Tyler concedes that George might not be as oblivious as some critics find. She refers to Deborah Tannen’s article “You Just Don’t Understand: Women and Men in Conversation”:

Tannen points out that men tend to spend time working side by side with friends rather than gazing into their eyes; their idea of a good time together might be silently performing parallel activities. A direct look can seem too much like a challenge or sexual advance, and conversation can seem too much like a game of one-upmanship. (72)

Even if George is aware that his wife wants some sort of intimacy, the silent, parallel activity she desires is not reading—she wants, and needs, sexual satisfaction. She does not wish for her husband to treat her as a male companion, avoiding eye contact and sexual advancements. Rather, these are the things she wants—she wants to be treated like a wife. The woman attempts a sexual connection when she sits on the bed beside her husband, but when she garners no response from him, she moves to the mirror. At the vanity looking at her reflection, the woman has only herself; as with the cat on her lap, self-pleasure is suggested once again. The woman vocalizes her frustrations in her last line of the story, that if she can’t have everything she wants, including sexual pleasure from her husband, at least she can have a cat. If her husband won’t have her, at least she has herself.

The wife's frustrations in her marriage become even clearer when contrasted with the her admiration of the padrone (*padrone* means "owner" or "manager" in Italian). The padrone is introduced in a way that is similar to the female character's desires in life; again, there is a quick and urgent series of thoughts from the perspective of the woman. While the "I want" series is delivered in dialogue with her husband, the "she liked" series is indirectly given through the story's narration as the woman's thoughts. As John Hagopian notes in "Symmetry in 'Cat in the Rain,'" the narration in the short story relies only on conscious information from whoever's point of view the story takes (221). Since the story follows the woman as she goes outside to retrieve the cat, we are privy to her thoughts when she encounters the padrone:

The wife liked him. She liked the deadly serious way he received any complaints. She liked his dignity. She like the way he wanted to serve her. She liked the way he felt about being a hotel-keeper. She liked his old, heavy face and big hands. Liking him she opened the door and looked out. (IOT 92)

Like the woman's catalog of desires, the traits she admires in the padrone are listed with clarity and force. When the woman is with her husband, her mind wanders to other things, but when she is around the padrone, her thoughts are consumed by him. She admires the attention he gives to his guests, the respect with which he treats people, the pride in his job, and his experienced masculinity. These are all traits that her husband does not possess—George does not pay her any attention, wish to serve her, or treat her with respect. Nor does he seem proud to be her husband or want to sexually fulfill her. The wife sees in the padrone an appreciation for her femininity. In the woman's mind, the padrone desires to serve her, to take care of her, and to appreciate her in the way she deserves. Even if these are courtesies that the padrone shows all of his guests, he makes the female feel as though she deserves the attention.

The woman's feelings for the padrone become charged with sexuality when she passes him on her way up to the room after failing to find the cat out in the rain. The story reads, "Something felt very small and tight inside the girl. The padrone made her feel very small and at the same time really important. She had a momentary feeling of being of supreme importance" (IOT 93). Likely, the female character experiences sexual arousal. According to Michael Reynolds in *The Young Heming-*

way, the author had scientifically educated himself on female sexuality a few years before writing "Cat in the Rain": "During [Hemingway's] Toronto winter [1920], he bought and read the Havelock Ellis book, *Erotic Symbolism*...[in the book] he found detailed explanations of the female orgasm" (qtd. in Bennett 249). Bennett suggests that the woman's feelings of tightness, smallness, and simultaneous importance reflect a female orgasm; while I do not believe that the female character experiences an orgasm at the mere sight of the padrone, the description does suggest that she is significantly aroused by his presence. The padrone is a tall man with big hands; these attributes are physical indicators of traditional virility that catch the woman's eye. But even in her sexual attraction to the padrone, the woman desires a dominant role. She admires the padrone because of "the way he wanted to serve her," just as she resents her husband's lack of interest (IOT 92). The padrone bows to her each time she passes through the lobby in a motion of both honor and service to the female.

In the padrone's wish to serve the female character, his central action is the deliverance of the cat at the end of the story. The woman's recognition of herself in the cat trying to keep dry in the rain is the greatest indicator of the character's isolation. The padrone is attuned to the female's desires and is aware of her great need for the cat, even though the two had not spoken of it. The woman cannot verbally express why she wants the cat so much, but she clearly identifies with the stranded animal when she says, "It isn't any fun being a poor kitty out in the rain" (IOT 93). In the narration, the cat is a "she," and although the woman has no way of knowing the sex of the cat, she refers to it as a female in her list of desires. When the woman fails to find the cat outside, the maid holding an umbrella asks in Italian, "Have you lost something, Signora?" The wife answers without a clear "yes" or "no," saying only, "There was a cat" (92). She feels as though she has lost something, as though her failure to save the cat is a failure to save herself.

The ending of the story can be viewed as a triumph or ultimate failure for the woman – that she either receives the cat that she saw outside or is given a completely different feline. Most critics argue the latter, saying that the largeness of the cat in the maid's arms does not match the compactness of the cat trying to keep dry in the rain (Bennett 255-56, Hagopian 222). However, the story suggests an ambiguity that refuses a

clear answer. The point of view at the end of the story switches to George: when there is a knock at the door, he says "Avanti," or "come in," and looks up from his book. The maid addresses George when she says, "The padrone asked me to bring this for the Signora" (IOT 94). She does not speak directly to the female by saying, "The padrone asked me to bring this for you"; thus, we do not get a sense of the woman's reaction through the narrative. As the maid enters from George's point of view, the story reads, "She held a big tortoise-shell cat" (94). If the narration followed the female character, it might read, "She held the cat from outside," or in opposition, "She held a cat that the woman had not seen before." George had not seen the cat that his wife desired from the room window, so he has no way of knowing if it is the same animal. Though the answer would be obvious in the woman's reaction, the story ends before the reader is given the scene. As with Hemingway's theory of omission, the ambiguity has a purpose, leaving the interpretation to the reader.

Though the quest for the cat is unresolved at the end of "Cat in the Rain," Hemingway's personal dealings with gender and sexuality illuminate the underlying significance of the woman's projection of self onto the cat. From a biographical perspective, the character's identification is more important than the outcome of the padrone's gift. Comley and Scholes write, "The danger for [Hemingway] as a constructor of character was that his males might be too much like himself and his females as insipid as those of a boyish daydream. One solution that he found—possibly the most important one—was to make his women more like himself" (61). Indeed, Hemingway makes the female character in "Cat in the Rain" like himself by transferring his own sense of loneliness and dissatisfaction to the woman. Rather than just portraying another girl through the eyes of a man, Hemingway overcomes gender separation by tapping into universal human emotions with the female character.

Hemingway's sense of loss around the time that "Cat in the Rain" was written is mirrored in the woman's desolation in the story. "Cat in the Rain" was the first story that Hemingway wrote after his wife Hadley lost his manuscripts in late 1922 (Eby 137). An enormous blow to his early career, Hemingway was forced to cope with the material loss of his writing identity. Similarly, the woman feels as though she has lost part of her identity in her unstable life and marriage; her actions and words in

the story are her ways of dealing. Furthermore, the first draft of the story was written while Ernest and Hadley were vacationing in Rapallo, Italy in February 1923. In notes on the trip, Hemingway wrote, “Cats love in the garden. On green tea tables to be exact” (Smith 43). In the story, the woman watches the cat “crouched under one of the dripping green tables” (IOT 91); while Hemingway was in Italy, he was in the position of the woman. Even in the setup of the story, the female character is closely modeled after Hemingway’s own experiences.

The similarities go beyond the story’s composition through Hemingway’s lifelong obsession with cats—yet another trait passed from author to character. “Cat in the Rain” was originally titled “The Poor Kitty,” a reference to both the female character – who was named “Kitty” in the early drafts – and the literal “poor kitty” outside in the rain (Smith 43). Cat nicknames span the breadth of Hemingway’s life and career. The nickname “Kitty” first appeared in Hemingway’s childhood, when he called his mother Grace by the name. Grace wrote in her detailed memory books of Ernest’s childhood, “He loves to play kitty and be the baby kitty, and Mama be the mama kitty and stroke him and purr” (qtd. in Eby 138). Furthermore, Hemingway transferred the nickname “Kitty” to his first wife, Hadley Richardson, to whom he was married at the time he wrote “Cat in the Rain.” He later called Mary Welsh, his fourth and last wife, “Kitten.” A variant on the nickname “Kitty” can be found in other Hemingway texts that followed the publication of “Cat in the Rain”; Catherine Barkley in *A Farewell to Arms* and Catherine Bourne in *The Garden of Eden* are both called “Cat” for short (122).

However, cats in Hemingway’s life and fiction are not prevalent without reason; Hemingway’s obsession with cats deeply resonates with his struggle with gender and sexuality. Carl P. Eby writes, “One can’t help noticing the abundance of cats... nor can one miss Hemingway’s easy alignment of cats with women—a culturally sanctioned equation to be sure, but one which usually lacks the insistence and complexity of Ernest’s feline associations” (121). Eby investigates these feline associations in *Hemingway’s Fetishism*, naming cats “fetishly-invested objects, totem animals which could perform some functions of the fetish object” (121). In Hemingway’s case, the fetish object was fur or hair. Though hair often manifested itself in androgyny – as seen in the female’s boyish haircut in “Cat in the Rain” – its silkiness was the basis of

Hemingway's fetish. With a similar smoothness, a cat's fur also served the purpose.

The cat in "Cat in the Rain" most closely fits with Eby's description of the "transitional object," the object that a child possesses that helps him "transition from a state of being merged with the mother" to a state of individuation (142). The transitional object's purpose is "to ward off depression and anxiety," as in a special teddy bear or security blanket—it is typically something soft to the touch (145, 142). The woman in "Cat in the Rain" believes that a soft cat will somehow alleviate her suffering; if she has something to care for — or if she has someone to care for her — she will not be as vulnerable. For Hemingway, cats served a similar function. Eby says that as a fetishist, Hemingway "never successfully negotiate[d] separation-individuation and therefore fail[ed] to form an entirely stable ego or sense of gender-identity" (142). Since cats were first associated with his mother, Hemingway held onto to the comforting notion of the animal into adulthood; the author famously owned over fifty felines at his Cuba residence alone. Cats were the transitional objects of which he was never able to let go; thus, hair and fur became the fetish and cats became the fetishly-invested object. As Eby says, Hemingway had lost his oneness with his mother, so cats became the symbol of the lost object for the author (133-47).

Eby's fetishism theory supports the claim that the woman in "Cat in the Rain" deeply sympathizes with the cat because she too is lost. The woman's need for comfort extends beyond the cat that she wants to care for and surfaces in other details of the character, particularly her desire for long hair. Through the author's fetish, cats and long hair are more closely connected than one would think. The female character repeats her desire for a cat ten times in conversation with her husband, but she also says three times that she wants long hair. The other things from her list are mentioned only once. Furthermore, the husband responds only to these two desires. The woman's desire for the cat and long hair are more than arbitrary; they are the most featured topics in the couple's conversation because they were most relevant in Hemingway's sexual outlook and identity. As fetishly-invested objects, they brought him a sense of comfort in his vulnerable position of loss and confusion. Through the author's projection, Eby says, "We can now understand why the American girl in 'Cat in the Rain' so desperately wants a cat or long

hair; she imagines that either object could be used somehow to alleviate her sense of loss and depression” (146). Hemingway’s application of his own emotions to the woman results in a full, detailed, and realistic female character. Through Hemingway’s application of himself, the woman in “Cat in the Rain” is distant from the misogyny that many see in Hemingway’s fiction.

In the end, it can be difficult for some readers and critics to truly believe that Hemingway overcomes his alleged sexism and misogyny in stories such as “Cat in the Rain.” I do not deny that elements of these biases can be found in his other texts. In many cases, Hemingway does seem to align himself with Catherine Bourne, the “bitch” character from the posthumously published novel *The Garden of Eden*. Catherine equates femininity with “scenes, hysteria, false accusations, [and] temperament” and finds womanhood to be a “god damned bore” (70). If these were indeed Hemingway’s views as well, there were clear obstacles between him and the creation of a sympathetic female protagonist. But, by expressing his own feelings of loss and confusion through the female character in “Cat in the Rain,” the author presents a female who is not masculine—she is more human. He carefully considers gender in the story in ways that a strictly masculine code hero would not allow him to. The result is a female protagonist who is more honest and deserving of passion than the stereotypical hysterical female—she breaks away from feminine assumptions, belonging both to Hemingway and society in general, to embody a fair and honest female character.

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Who Can Accept His Freedom?

James Watters

Freedom is the ability of an individual to make his own choices without the consent of another person. Although freedom permits an unconstrained lifestyle, it is accompanied by a feeling of emptiness. When a person has the power to make his own decisions, he experiences a sense of apprehension. Someone who acknowledges this concern is what contemporary philosopher Jean-Paul Sartre would term as being in "good faith." However, an individual who attempts to escape from this uneasiness is in a state of "bad faith." I believe that Sartre's concepts of both "good faith" and "bad faith" are present in the characters of *Do The Right Thing*, *Crimes and Misdemeanors*, and *Goodfellas*. Not unlike other philosophers, Sartre broke down a person's understanding of being into different forms.

Sartre defines the first form of Being, "being-in-itself", as the "non-conscious Being. It is the Being of phenomenon and overflows the knowledge which we have of it" (Sartre 800). He derives this concept from Martin Heidegger, another existentialist. Objects that are beings in themselves are fixed and unchanging. They have no need for human consciousness (Hill 6). Sartre's perspective of "being-in itself" is analogous to Descartes' understanding of himself, "I am; I exist—this is certain" (Descartes 19). "Being-in-itself" is essentially fullness of the primitive being. It is completely impersonal. All one can say is that it simply is. (Barnes 48-53). When one attempts to describe further the elements of being, consciousness is attained.

Consciousness is characteristic of the second form of Being. Sartre defines "being-for-itself" as "the nihilation of 'being-in-itself'...By bringing Nothingness into the world the For-itself can stand out from Being and judge other beings by knowing what it is not" (Sartre 800). With awareness comes the ability to choose. "Being-for-itself" seeks not only freedom of choice, but also a foundation for decision. It yearns to be uninhibited and divine, relative and absolute, and the subject and object (Hill 6-7). When attempting to explain Being abstractly, one summarizes "being-for-itself." To say that "Being is there" or "There is being" intro-

duces consciousness. Sartre believed that Being is the condition for all revealing. Therefore without consciousness, Being remains unknown (Barnes 49-53). Anguish is significantly affected by consciousness.

Decision making is the foundation of anguish. According to Sartre, anguish is "...the realization that a nothingness slips in between my Self...and nothing guarantees the validity of the values which I choose" (Sartre 799-800). He also affirms that existentialists believe that a man is in anguish. When a man obligates himself to something, he cannot avoid the immense responsibility that he has placed upon himself. A man experiencing anguish should be contemplating whether or not the choices he makes will affect the whole of society, and if they do, should he have the ability to make them. Sartre puts anguish into perspective when describing the duties of a military commander. A military commander who takes responsibility of a regiment of soldiers cannot help but feel a deep sense of anguish when sending a group of men in for an attack (Sartre 4-5). The anguish in which an individual feels due to responsibility is divided into two forms.

Anxiety, the first form of anguish, is a feeling linked to freedom. Independence elicits a sense of nothingness. In the eyes of an existentialist, the belief that God does not exist closes the door of belonging. Indeed "man is nothing else, but that which he makes of himself" according to Sartre (3). Considering the endless choices placed before an individual, the sense of nothingness one feels is a decent reason for anxiety. Acknowledging one's sovereignty, a person may also feel anguish in instances that are unappealing.

Nausea, the second form of anguish, contrasts with anxiety. Although it also is connected to freedom, it is supportive of somethingness, the idea that one's autonomy is precious (Myers). Sartre defines nausea as "the 'taste' of the facticity and contingency of existence" (Sartre 804). In other words, it is the sensation one faces when one's independence is infringed. For instance, someone who is thinking to himself, "Gosh, I wish I were somewhere else instead of here with you" is a legitimate example of a person experiencing nausea. The cure for nausea is a dose of anxiety and vice versa. Even though anxiety and nausea differ, they are both necessary because they balance each other out. Genuine people undergo both nausea and anxiety.

Anyone who accepts anguish as part of his life is a person of "good

faith.” Sartre believes that “good faith” is deciding to be. Searching for the evidence before one believes is another attribute of an authentic person. Recognizing that one cannot have control of an entire situation, but does have the freedom to choose how he may react is yet another characteristic of someone with “good faith.” A genuine person does not necessarily have to be of a good moral background; however he should accept that he is what he does. Just as someone of “good faith” accepts anxiety and nausea as part of his life, so too does someone of “bad faith” reject anguish.

The first type of “bad faith” is the flight from anxiety. It is essentially “bad faith” in “being-in-itself” mode. Many times elderly people will enter into this condition. The classic excuse, “Oh, that’s just the way I am” is a perfect example of the flight from anxiety. What is lacking in this case is a sense of nausea. Clearly, believing that one cannot change is denying the somethingness attributed to him. Getting ahead of oneself is also a method of denying anguish.

The flight from nausea is the second type of “bad faith.” It is characteristic of “being-for-itself ” and is more common in youth, who are constantly dreaming of the future. Someone who denies nausea might say “Just wait, one day I’ll...” Someone in this state is not accepting his nothingness. By not considering the choices one makes in the present, one cannot hope to achieve differences in the future (Myers). Buggin Out, a wannabe Black nationalist in the movie *Do The Right Thing*, epitomizes someone in flight from nausea.

One who makes foolish aspirations for the future is denying his nothingness. When Buggin Out enters Sal’s Famous Pizzeria, he asks Sal, the Italian-American owner, for a slice of pizza. Then, he inquires how much it costs as if he honestly did not know. Sal reminds him that he comes into the restaurant every day and harshly questions how could he forget. Buggin Out is clearly denying the fact that he knows the price, possibly hoping that one day Sal will demand less. In another instance, Buggin Out notices that Sal’s Wall of Fame does not have any African Americans. He quickly insists that Sal should put famous blacks on his wall because the majority of his customers are African American. Because Sal does not agree to do so, Buggin Out attempts an organized boycott of Sal’s Famous Pizzeria. By lying to himself and projecting his efforts to the future, Buggin Out is undoubtedly in a state of self-deception. Although Sal and Buggin Out are opponents, they are both guilty of “bad faith.”

Stubbornness is not an excuse for escaping anguish. When Sal dismisses Buggin Out's request to put famous African Americans on his Wall of Fame, he denies his ability to choose. In another situation, Radio Raheem, a tall black man whose identity is his radio, enters Sal Famous Pizzeria with his radio blaring. Sal immediately screams at him to turn the music off or he will not serve him. Although Sal did not ask politely, Radio Raheem eventually succumbs to Sal's orders. The fact that Sal could have said "Please" does not cross his mind. Sal acts in accordance with one who is fleeing from anxiety. He does not accept the somethingness he is entrusted in freedom. One of Sal's employees, Mookie, does not attempt to reject anguish.

Both concern and regret constitute a true individual. When Buggin Out practically starts a fight with Sal because he does not agree to put famous African Americans on his Wall of Fame, Mookie separates the two in order to prevent the situation from becoming any worse. Instead of joining Buggin Out in his verbal attack of Sal, he takes him outside and calms him down. Although Mookie may not agree with Sal, he accepts his nothingness and puts an end to the argument. While working for Sal, Mookie also experiences nausea. Each time he is asked to make a delivery he spends as much time away from the pizzeria as possible. Considering his behavior, it is evident that Mookie feels he is using up his freedom. An attribute of a bona fide person is accepting one's nothingness while making a decision.

Another character who represents someone of "good faith" is an old drunk called Da Mayor. In the early afternoon, a young boy runs into the street in front of a speeding car. Instantly, Da Mayor runs in front of the car and pushes the boy to the side of the road. When questioned later about why he risked his life for the young boy, he admits he did not think about it. Da Mayor faces his nothingness instinctively without pondering the value of his decision. Another instance in which Da Mayor feels anguish is when he protects Sal and his sons while the angry Bedford-Stuyvesant residents destroy Sal's Famous Pizzeria. Despite the fact that the angry mob might turn on him, Da Mayor accepts responsibility of Sal and his sons. By lying to oneself, one can reject the feeling of anguish.

A character who epitomizes someone in flight of anguish is Judah Rosenthal, an ophthalmologist in the movie *Crimes and Misdemeanors*. He engages in a secret affair with a flight attendant named

Dolores Paley. After two years, she threatens to reveal their relationship to his wife. Fortunately for Judah, he manages to ward off her black mail demands, but will not accept her well being as his responsibility. He is quite obviously refuting anguish by rejecting his significance in Dolores' life. Sartre affirmed that a Catholic who seeks counsel from a priest "... already [knows], more or less, what he [will] advise...to choose an adviser is nevertheless to commit oneself by that choice" (7). Practically a mirror image of Sartre's description, Judah calls his brother Jack, a mobster, to "help" him resolve his problem. When Judah first speaks with his brother, he is hesitant to have Dolores killed, but Jack assures him that the blood will not be on his hands. The moment Judah believes that he is not directly responsible for Dolores' death; he leaves his consciousness at the door. Judah's brother, however, is in no state of denial. Although not of the highest moral standard, Jack is fully aware of his freedom.

An individual of "good faith" is certain of his independence. Before Judah agrees to have Dolores killed, he calls Jack for advice. At first Judah pretends as if he does not know why he asked his brother to come over. Without hesitation, Jack pronounces, "You always call me when you need me to do your dirty work. What is it now Judah?" Completely aware of his nothingness, he does not try to hide what kind of business he deals with. Following Dolores death, Judah is greatly troubled. Reluctantly, Jack agrees to meet with Judah to discuss his issues. Judah reveals that he cannot forget about his part in Dolores' death and talks of possibly turning himself in. In a quick response, Jack tells him not to worry about it. During their conversation it is obvious that Jack feels a sense of nausea. He tells Judah that what is done is done, and not to reflect on it. Trustworthy or not, a person who undergoes distress and does not suppress it is authentic.

Another mobster who is completely conscious of his freedom is Henry Hill from the movie *Goodfellas*. When Henry discovers that he can acquire a significant amount of money through trafficking cocaine, he decides to ignore the demands of his capo Paulie Cicero to stay out of the illegal drug industry. Although uneasy of what Paulie might do to him if he finds out, Henry decides to begin an underhanded crack operation anyway. The anxiety he feels due to his decision reveals his nothingness. Unfortunate for Henry, the FBI busts his operation and he ends up living as an average Joe under the Witness Protection Program. He disparag-

ingly admits, "I get to live the rest of my life like a schnook." Without a doubt, the pain Henry feels in his current condition is nausea. A fellow gangster of Henry named Jimmy Conway is not so sure of his liberty.

Lack of consciousness is an element of "bad faith." A close friend and fellow mobster to Henry and Jimmy is Tommy DeVito. When Tommy is provoked by a made man from a competing crime family named Billy Batts, he decides to brutally beat him up. Instead of breaking up the fight, Jimmy joins in, viciously striking Batts to the ground. Although Jimmy realizes the danger of killing a made man, he acts as a "being-in-itself" and allows Tommy his vengeance. By telling himself that killing Batts is no big deal, Jimmy is in flight from anxiety. Perhaps the biggest act of self-deception that Jimmy carries out is murdering of all the gangsters that took part in a six million dollar heist. At first, Jimmy is simply paranoid of the police when he sees his fellow gangsters spending their cut on lavish items. He has those arrogant mobsters killed. Soon, however, Jimmy is consumed with greed and has all of the gangsters killed. Just as he dismisses Tommy's ignorant killing of Billy Batts, Jimmy writes off his murdering frenzy as something he just had to take care of. By rejecting one's freedom and denying one's nothingness, a person places himself in a state of self-deception.

Jean-Paul Sartre laid out the specific differences between a person of "good faith" and a person of "bad faith." A person of "good faith" recognizes his independence and feels a sense of anguish as a result. The two forms of anguish which one should experience are anxiety and nausea. Someone of "bad faith" is in a "living death" as Sartre puts it (Hill 7). In other words, a person rejects his ability to make decisions, which constitutes his existence. There are two types of flight from anguish. The first is the flight from anxiety and the second is the flight from nausea. Each character leans more towards a genuine being or a being in denial. The ability to choose composes a true being.

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“I Didn’t Give *Sputnik* Another Thought”: The Cold War Experience of the Fifties Housewife

Peter Starr

“For years to come, Americans would recall where they were on Sputnik night,” writes journalist and historian Paul Dickson. Lyndon B. Johnson, then majority leader of the Senate, recalled how the festivities at the barbecue he was hosting ground to a halt as his guests turned their heads skyward. A third-year student at Harvard Law School, Ralph Nader remembered that “[news of *Sputnik*] hit the campus like a thunderbolt.” But Doris Kearns Goodwin, the only prominent female whose *Sputnik* night Dickson revisits, had a far different experience: still a teenager at the time, Goodwin was at her boyfriend’s house when the news broke. The two lay down on a blanket in a nearby park, hoping to catch a glimpse of the satellite, but did not waste too much time scanning the night sky. “It was a very romantic setting,” she confessed, “My boyfriend reached over and kissed me.... I didn’t give Sputnik another thought.”¹

Although Paul Dickson did not intend for it to, his account of Goodwin’s experience on *Sputnik* night beautifully illustrates the way in which women in the 1950s were excluded from the political sphere. Caught up in the realm of domesticity, where the needs of men and children came first, many women “didn’t give Sputnik”—or for that matter, politics in general—“another thought.” The women of the 1950s were trained by their parents, professors, and politicians to assume a domestic role in society, and as a result, they were largely isolated from the political arena. Their lack of awareness regarding as highly-politicized an event as the launch of *Sputnik* does not reflect a lack of intelligence or education, but rather, the effect of societal restrictions that were imposed on women, all of which demands a revision of our understanding of *Sputnik*’s significance.

Such a statement, however, should be understood in the context of the broader, ongoing historical debate regarding the true nature of

¹ Paul Dickson, *Sputnik: The Shock of the Century* (New York: Walker & Company, 2001), 17-21.

American life in the Fifties. The crux of the problem lies in the way Americans have memorialized the Fifties. As Larry Madaras writes, “since the mid-1970s Americans have used the 1950s as the standard by which all future successes and failures are measured.”² The Fifties are remembered as a better, simpler time. Grandfatherly “Ike” Eisenhower, the hero of the Second World War, was in office. The postwar economy was booming, enabling millions of Americans to join the middle class and assume all of its trappings. And American youth were still wearing preppy clothes and saving themselves for marriage. Popular culture generally accepts this image of the 1950s, but its historical accuracy is debatable.

Some historians, such as Melvin Dubofsky and Athan Theoharis, argue that happiness in the 1950s *was* pervasive, due to America’s economic prosperity: “Americans relished a culture of consume, dispose, and enjoy. We were... ‘people of plenty.’”³ Yet Miller and Nowak argue quite convincingly that “it was more an era of fear than fun. ...Nostalgia is selective,” they remind us—after all, “no one is staging a House Un-American Activities Committee revival or longing for the good old days of nuclear brinksmanship....”⁴ Nevertheless, even Miller and Nowak admit a period of mid-fifties happiness—“the quintessential fifties—which were “prosperous, stable, bland, religious, moral, patriotic, conservative, domestic, [and] buttoned-down.”⁵ The gender historian Elaine Tyler May and conservative historian Jeffrey Hart, meanwhile, argue over whether the Fifties were “apolitical” (May) or characterized by “ferocious political debates.”⁶ And the contradictions go on and on.

² Larry Madaras, ed., *Taking Sides: Clashing Views on Controversial Issues in American History Since 1945*, Second ed. (Guilford, CT: McGraw-Hill, 2003), 74.

³ Melvin Dubofsky and Athan Theoharis, *Imperial Democracy: The United States Since 1945* (Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey: Prentice-Hall, 1983), 108.

⁴ Douglas T. Miller and Marion Nowak, *The Fifties: The Way We Really Were*, (Garden City, NY: Doubleday, 1977), 11; Miller and Nowak, 5-6.

⁵ Ibid, 15.

⁶ Elaine Tyler May, *Homeward Bound: American Families in the Cold War Era* (New York: Basic Books, 1988), 14; Jeffrey Hart, *When the Going Was Good: American Life in the Fifties* (New York: Crown Publishers, 1982), 7-8.

To classify the Fifties as definitively one way or another may be impossible. Such an exercise, moreover, always entails a degree of oversimplification, for the breadth of experience in any era is too diverse to fit a single mold. It is helpful, therefore, to limit our discussion to one group of people—women, in this case—and their reaction to one major event—the launch of *Sputnik I* on 4 October 1957.

Historians have studied the American-Soviet “Space Race” and *Sputnik* in particular extensively. Whatever their differences, almost all of these “Space Age” historians agree that *Sputnik* shocked and upset the American people.⁷ Typical is one historian’s characterization of the public’s reaction: “With *Sputnik* flying over American skies every night, its radio signal beeping on TVs and radios deep inside the American household, the threat of communism expanded to new dimensions....”⁸ Dickson, who describes *Sputnik*’s shockwaves best, writes that “the most basic fear instilled in Americans by *Sputnik* was fear for their lives.”⁹ “What is at stake is nothing less than our survival,” warned Senator Mike Mansfield; not wanting to be outdone, LBJ joined the chorus: “I’ll be damned,” he howled, “if I sleep by the light of a Red Moon.”¹⁰

Of all of the “Space Age” historians, only Brzezinski tempers his characterization of the American reaction, explaining that Americans’ initial indifference was whipped into a frenzy by the bloodthirsty national press.¹¹ There is no doubt among these historians, however, that *Sputnik* struck a major blow to America’s confidence in a number of areas—military might as well as scientific ingenuity. Its impact was significant

⁷ Brian Harvey, *Russia in Space: The Failed Frontier?* (Chichester, UK: Praxis Publishing, 2001); Juan C. Lucena, *Defending the Nation: U.S. Policymaking to Create Scientists and Engineers from Sputnik to the ‘War against Terrorism’* (New York: University Press of America, 2005), 27; Deborah Cadbury, *Space Race: The Epic Battle Between America and the Soviet Union for Dominion of Space* (New York: Harper-Collins, 2006), 167; Robert A. Divine, *The Sputnik Challenge* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1993); Dickson.

⁸ Lucena, 27.

⁹ Dickson, 116.

¹⁰ Ibid; Matthew Brzezinski, *Red Moon Rising* (New York: Times Books, 2007), 175.

¹¹ Brzezinski, 171-172.

as well, as Peter Dow's work on the *Sputnik* had on America's public education system indicates.¹²

Most of the general histories of the 1950s also attest to the immensity of *Sputnik*'s impact. That the pessimistic Miller and Nowak acknowledge *Sputnik*'s significance is notable; even in an era characterized by fear, "Americans were profoundly shocked," by *Sputnik*, "[and] national self-confidence seemed shattered."¹³ On the optimistic end of the spectrum is Jeffrey Hart, who calls Eisenhower's underestimation of *Sputnik*'s "political and psychological impact" the "greatest mistake" of his presidency.¹⁴ Hart's admission is equally notable, for in his view, Eisenhower could do no wrong. But most historians agree with Halberstam's bland and broad description that "suddenly, it seemed as if America were undergoing a national crisis of confidence."¹⁵ This sort of generalization, which saturates the historiography, obscures our understanding of *Sputnik*'s impact on individual demographic groups.

The existence of such historical oversight became apparent through examining the personal accounts of women who lived through the event. All three of the women I interviewed began their married, adult lives in the Fifties. When I asked one of these women, Joan Hardwick, what *Sputnik* meant to her, she surprised me by nonchalantly responding: "Wasn't that when we sent a monkey into outer space?"¹⁶ She was, obviously, incorrect, but her lack of knowledge indicates the extent to which the woman's 1950s experience was apolitical. Hardwick's sister, Natalie Hunter, recalled that *Sputnik* was a Soviet satellite, but had only a vague sense of its ominous nature.¹⁷ Carolyn Manley, the third interviewee, remembered the event far more clearly; she recalled that *Sputnik* did scare some people, but also that "it wasn't a big deal in [her] world."¹⁸

¹² Peter B. Dow, *Schoolhouse Politics: Lessons from the Sputnik Era* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1991).

¹³ Miller and Nowak, 17.

¹⁴ Hart, 80.

¹⁵ David Halberstam, *The Fifties* (New York: Villard Books, 1993), 626.

¹⁶ Joan Hardwick, interview by author, 27 April 2008, Atlanta, tape recording.

¹⁷ Natalie Hunter, interview by author, 27 April 2008, Atlanta, tape recording.

¹⁸ Carolyn Manley, interview by author, 27 April 2008, Atlanta, tape recording.

Sputnik had such minor to nonexistent effects on these three women because of the way women in the 1950s were limited to the domestic sphere; and since a woman's place was the home, politics was considered, in the words of Natalie Hunter, to be "somebody else's business, not mine."¹⁹

Before continuing with this discussion, it is important to acknowledge that these three women do not represent an extensive sampling of American society. All three came from middle- to upper-class backgrounds; all were raised in Atlanta; and all were relatively well-educated. Born between 1927 and 1930, all three were in their early twenties as they 1950s began. There are some significant differences among the women in terms of political orientation, religious denomination, and life history, but these similarities and differences, are unimportant, for this paper will focus primarily on the broader social forces that shaped their lives and produced a sense of separation from the political arena.

The relatively high level of education that each of these women received provides an interesting window into the sort of societal limitations that were imposed on women. As children, all three were educated in private schools for girls. Joan and Natalie attended Washington Seminary, the forerunner of Atlanta's prestigious Westminster Schools, in Buckhead. The school was prestigious then too, but not for its academic reputation—it was prestigious because "people who could afford it went there."²⁰ In reality, this was probably the school to which Atlanta's most elite families sent their children, for Joan and Natalie's family was upper-crust—when they moved to Atlanta in 1940, the house they purchased included a working elevator. Yet the quality of education Joan and Natalie received at this all-girls private school was not what one would expect. "It was supposed to be good, but it was not," said Joan emphatically. She recalled that her friends who had made the honor roll at Washington Seminary did "miserably" at good 4-year colleges.²¹

¹⁹ Natalie Hunter interview. Hereinafter, the interviewees will be referred to by their first names, Joan, Natalie, and Carolyn, in order that the reader may easily distinguish between references to the interviews and references to published authors.

²⁰ Natalie Hunter interview.

²¹ Joan Hardwick interview.

For Joan and Natalie, however, attending a 4-year college was out of the question. Their mother felt it would be improper to send her girls to 4-year colleges—much less a *coed* school—so both were sent to private, all-girls junior colleges. “Our mother and father raised us to go to junior college, make our debut, get married, and join the junior league, and that’s what we did,” said Joan matter-of-factly. “Isn’t it pitiful? But that’s the way we were raised.”²² Neither Joan nor Natalie considered their junior college education to be preparation for a career. “Women didn’t have careers in those days,” said Natalie; when I pressed her for more information, asking what she had wanted to be growing up, “Married” was her response.²³

More importantly, their college educations did not prepare them for a career, but for life as a mother and a wife. The most powerful illustration of this sort of preparation is a final exam Joan took in her second year. To pass the all-important Home Economics class—a graduation requirement—Joan and her classmates had to take care of an orphaned baby for twenty-four hours in the President’s Home. On top of caring for the infant, the students were also required to cook three meals for the President, making the simulation for life after college—which meant life as a housewife—complete. So there it was, the culmination of 14 years of expensive private education, and it amounted to no more than taking care of a man and a baby.²⁴ And the preparation worked—in no less than two years from graduating junior college, both Joan and Natalie had indeed debuted, married, and joined the junior league.²⁵

Like much of her life history, Carolyn Manley’s educational background differed from that of Joan and Natalie. Raised a catholic, Carolyn attended the Sacred Heart School, a private, all-girls catholic school, for her entire childhood. Since her family was not as wealthy as Joan and Natalie’s—she describes it as middle-class—Carolyn was able to attend private school only because her parish covered most of the tuition costs. She received a good education at Sacred Heart; although the nuns

²² Ibid.

²³ Natalie Hunter interview.

²⁴ Joan Hardwick interview.

²⁵ Ibid; Natalie Hunter interview.

“weren’t very much fun,” they were thorough teachers, and Carolyn did well enough to be admitted to Agnes Scott College, a private, 4-year women’s college. While at Agnes Scott, Carolyn studied French and Latin, but did not envision ever having a career. “I just thought I would be a wife and mother,” she explained, “So I didn’t think I needed the education very much.”²⁶ Moreover, Carolyn understood that women had limited career options—she listed “nurse, teacher, [and] secretary” as possibilities—which made the prospect of having a career undesirable.²⁷

Education has always been considered perhaps the best indicator of the path one’s life will take. One’s level of education usually dictates a number of other factors, ranging from one’s career and lifestyle to the level of his or her political and intellectual awareness. Given that Joan, Natalie, and Carolyn all attended college—albeit 2-year colleges in Joan and Natalie’s case—it is significant that they followed such traditional, limited paths. Although they had attained a greater level of education than one would expect of a housewife, all three married by the age of twenty-one and assumed the role of housewife shortly thereafter.²⁸

This was the trend at even the most prestigious of college campuses. At Smith College’s 1955 commencement ceremony, for example, graduating seniors were instructed by two-time Presidential candidate Adlai Stevenson on the virtues of housewifery. “I think there is much you can do about our crisis in the humble role of housewife,” Stevenson began the commencement address, for as women, they were in a unique position, to “restore valid, meaningful purpose to life in [the] home.”²⁹ Was *this* truly the job for which their ivy-league education had prepared them?

²⁶ Although Carolyn stated that her education was unnecessary, given her expectation to be a “wife and a mother,” she later remembered that her father had justified her education by reasoning that she should have “something to fall back on in case something happened to [her] husband.”

²⁷ Carolyn Manley interview.

²⁸ Joan Hardwick interview, Natalie Jones interview, Carolyn Manley interview.

²⁹ Adlai E. Stevenson, “A Purpose for Modern Woman,” (Commencement Address given at Smith College on 6 June 1955), from <http://www.wwnorton.com/college/history/archive/>, (accessed 29 April 2008).

Perhaps more significant than Stevenson's assumptions was his explanation of the "crisis" these housewives-in-waiting were supposed to combat: cast in what were clearly Cold War terms, it was the trend of "vocational specialization" that degraded liberty and promoted an "authoritarian, totalitarian" mindset; since the working husband had to leave the home, he was especially exposed to these threatening forces. At home, however, the wife of this "creatur[e] called 'Western man'" had the opportunity to "keep him Western,"—as opposed to Communist—"to keep him truly purposeful, to keep him whole." The conflict between individualism and authoritarianism, then, would be "won at last not on the battlefield but in the head and heart."³⁰

Remarkably, Stevenson was calling on women to play an active role in the Cold War, an international struggle between superpowers, by remaining at home, having children, and taking care of their husbands. As Paul Carter points out, Stevenson's statement that the crisis would be won "not in on the battlefield but in the head and heart" really meant that the "head and heart had become a battlefield."³¹ And women, in Stevenson's view, would be the cold warriors who competed on this battlefield.³²

According to Stevenson, there were advantages to this situation. The woman had the luxury of working at home; she could "practice [her] saving arts" in the family room "with a baby in [her] lap," "in the kitchen with a can opener in [her] hand," or even "on that unsuspecting man while he's watching television!"³³ These supposed advantages reveal an interesting contradiction: while women had a high-minded and important mission to fill, the men seem inanimate. They were content to sit idly by, watching television and allowing their wives to practice their "saving arts," on them. Yet as Carter points out, women were not more important than men—their mission was to "hearten and energize" their husbands to "carry on in the Cold War."³⁴

³⁰ Stevenson commencement address.

³¹ Paul A. Carter, *Another Part of the Fifties* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1983), 93.

³² Stevenson commencement address.

³³ Ibid.

³⁴ Carter, 93.

While this task would not seem to require much intellectual ability, Stevenson's glorified version of it does: "[your education] will fit you for the primary task of making homes and whole human beings in whom the rational values of freedom, tolerance, charity and free inquiry can take root."³⁵ In the 1950s, then, the level of education a woman attained clearly did not change her future—the woman's place was the home, regardless of her training, talents, or aspirations. Indeed, Stevenson emphasized the importance of women's education at Smith, stating that "women, *especially* educated women such as you, have a unique opportunity to influence us, man and boy..." for only through "better ideas" could "totalitarian, authoritarian ideas" be defeated.³⁶ Education enhanced a woman's influence but did not change the locale in which that influence would be exerted: the home.

At the time that he made his "A Purpose for Modern Woman" speech, Adlai Stevenson had already run for President once and would do so again. Many Americans considered him to be the nation's leading progressive intellectual. In fact, Stevenson's reputation as an intellectual hurt him in the general election, as some Americans doubted that this "candidate of the eggheads" was "manly enough to be President."³⁷ His attitude towards women, then, was probably considered progressive, which makes one wonder what sort of beliefs less-enlightened Americans held.

In such a traditional social climate, Joan, Natalie, and Carolyn's decision—and desire—to become housewives seems more reasonable. Their lack of political awareness also seems reasonable, for politics lay beyond the domestic sphere. More importantly, women were supposed to protect their families from the dangers of the outside world, not concern themselves with those very dangers.

In attempting to understand such social phenomena, Elaine Tyler May's theory of "domestic containment" is useful. May's domestic containment is essentially an extension of the diplomatic policy of containment, which was developed by George Kennan at the onset of the Cold

³⁵ Stevenson commencement address.

³⁶ Ibid.

³⁷ Halberstam, 234-235.

War.³⁸ Kennan argued that the United States could deflect the Soviet threat only by containing it geographically.³⁹ In May's version of domestic containment, the "sphere of influence was the home," for inside the home, "potentially dangerous social forces of the new age might be tamed."⁴⁰ At the heart of both policies was security; while the foreign policy sought national security, individual Americans sought the domestic equivalent: "secure jobs, secure marriages, [and] secure homes...."⁴¹

To a large extent, Americans were successful in attaining their dream of domestic security. Both Carolyn and Joan agreed that people were content with life in the Fifties. "The men were just getting back on their feet after the war," stated Carolyn; "They had gotten good jobs, and everybody could buy a nice house."⁴² Joan's memory was similar and even more forceful: "The Fifties were wonderful; for the average American, which I was, those were really wonderful years."⁴³ These women's understanding of their role in society also confirms the domestic containment thesis. Natalie recalled that her friends were all doing the same thing she was—"getting married and having kids"—and that "we thought we were doing what we were supposed to do."⁴⁴ While Carolyn did not directly address these societal expectations, she laughingly retold how all of her Catholic friends "had babies like nine months and fifteen minutes after getting married." Since her husband, Frank Manley, was pursuing a doctorate in English at Johns Hopkins University, Carolyn worked as a schoolteacher for a while, but deep down, she too desired to "stay home and have babies."

The desire to settle down and start a family was prominent among the young men of the Fifties as well as the women. While taking part in a

³⁸ Ibid, 13.

³⁹ George F. Kennan, writing as Mr. X, "The Sources of Soviet Conduct," *Foreign Affairs*, (July 1947), cited in Blackboard Course Documents.

⁴⁰ May, 14.

⁴¹ Ibid.

⁴² Carolyn Manley interview.

⁴³ Joan Hardwick interview.

⁴⁴ Natalie Hunter interview.

sociological study, one oft-quoted young man reported “I’d like six kids. I don’t know why I say that—it just seems like a minimum production goal.”⁴⁵ The author of the study, David Riesman, reported that all male college graduates of the 1950s wanted out of a career was “to find the good life.”⁴⁶ For these young men, success meant getting a good job, marrying an attractive woman, and making enough money for her to stay at home with the children. And the women, by and large, complied with this model. As Natalie Hunter put it, “I guess I felt lucky that I didn’t have to work.”⁴⁷

According to May, this focus on marrying and starting a family resulted in the growth of a “familial ideology,” which “helps explain the apolitical tenor of middle-class postwar life.”⁴⁸ Among the personal accounts of the three women I interviewed, there is a preponderance of evidence that indicates that life did have an “apolitical tenor,” but there is also evidence to the contrary. Take Joan Hardwick’s level of political awareness, for example. When questioned about the significance the Cold War and politics in general held for her, Joan responded that she “just didn’t think about it; Lester [her husband] and I had a nice house, the kids were great, we didn’t have any money problems, so it [the Cold War] just didn’t bother us.”⁴⁹ By her own admission, Joan was not concerned with politics, yet she campaigned for Dwight Eisenhower in 1952 by driving a car “up and down Peachtree Street,” and yelling “Vote for Ike! Vote for Ike!” through a loudspeaker.⁵⁰

Natalie also admitted her lack of political awareness: “You know, it was not a part of my life. I had no political views at all; I didn’t even think about it.” In the same breath, however, Natalie affirmed her participation in national elections; “Oh yes, of course I voted.”⁵¹ Carolyn was probably more politically aware than Joan and Natalie. It is likely that

⁴⁵ Carter, 94.

⁴⁶ Ibid, 93.

⁴⁷ Natalie Hunter interview.

⁴⁸ May, 14.

⁴⁹ Joan Hardwick interview.

⁵⁰ Ibid.

⁵¹ Natalie Hunter interview.

she ran in a more intellectual circle, since her husband was pursuing advanced degrees at big universities during much of the 1950s, and this affected her political beliefs. She remembered McCarthy's heyday particularly well, recalling that "there was a threat in the air in those days."⁵² She also admitted, however, that she and Frank were not overly concerned with politics, as he was busy studying and she was "just wrapped up with my new marriage and my new baby so much more."⁵³

Discussing political awareness in such a general sense can lead to these sorts of contradictions. Can Joan, who campaigned for Eisenhower but said that she "just didn't think about" politics, be easily classified as either political or apolitical? Focusing on *Sputnik*'s impact alone allows us to avoid the ambiguity of this general discussion of political awareness. In this context, *Sputnik* serves as a thermometer of political awareness especially as it pertained to the Cold War, which was the most prominent feature on the political landscape of the 1950s.

Prior to *Sputnik*, all three women did not consider the Soviet Union to be a threat to American superiority. "I just thought those old Russians were crazy," recalled Carolyn, and then humorously, "like they were going to come over here and mess with us."⁵⁴ Joan and Natalie both stated that they did not think about the Cold War much, but that when they did, they felt sure that America was winning it.⁵⁵ Joan went a step further, asserting that her husband and his friends did not seem concerned about the Cold War either. Yet Carolyn had a different experience; she remembered days of neighborhood watches, which involved people "tromping around the neighborhood to see if they could spot incoming aircraft."⁵⁶ Significantly, however, Carolyn considered those people to be "alarmists;" she did not fear the "Red Threat."⁵⁷

⁵² Carolyn Manley interview.

⁵³ Ibid.

⁵⁴ Carolyn Manley interview.

⁵⁵ Joan Hardwick interview, Natalie Hunter interview.

⁵⁶ Carolyn Manley interview.

⁵⁷ Ibid.

After *Sputnik*, Natalie and Joan remained largely unaffected by—and even unaware of—its impact on America’s standing in the Cold War. After hearing a brief explanation of what *Sputnik* was, Joan seemed shocked. “You mean there weren’t even any people in it?” She asked. And then, in a statement that reveals her thorough ignorance of the satellite’s Cold War significance, she joked, “Well you see, it was so uninteresting that it didn’t bother me at all.”⁵⁸ She remembers the Fifties clearly though, and assured me that pre- and post-*Sputnik*, the 1950s “were not scary years.”⁵⁹ In Natalie’s experience, *Sputnik* proved to be a bit more memorable; she knew that it was a negative event from the American perspective, but it “just didn’t affect” her.⁶⁰ Natalie’s inattention to such a major political event is consistent with her history—“I had no political views at all” she said earlier in the interview—but she was also occupied with more pressing familial issues at the time. On top of caring for three children, Natalie was, by the late 1950s, dealing with an alcoholic husband whose stability was deteriorating badly.⁶¹ The fact remains, however, that *Sputnik* did not make much of an impression on her, negative or otherwise.

Carolyn’s experience, once again, proves more difficult to categorize. Her response to the question of *Sputnik*’s impact varied depending on its societal context. She recalled that *Sputnik* threatened our national security and remembered the government’s response of emphasizing mathematics and science in public education. As a nation, we became more competitive because “we didn’t want those Russians to get ahead of us,” she recalled.⁶² Such comments seem to place her in the same camp as those “Space Age” historians who stressed *Sputnik*’s confidence-shattering effects. But ultimately, Carolyn’s personal experience fits with that of Joan and Natalie. “It wasn’t a big deal in my world,” said Carolyn. Carolyn also agreed with Joan’s assertion that middle-class Americans in general were unaffected by the Soviet satellite. According to Carolyn,

⁵⁸ Joan Hardwick interview.

⁵⁹ Ibid.

⁶⁰ Natalie Hunter interview.

⁶¹ Ibid.

⁶² Carolyn Manley interview.

middle-class Americans typically had great social lives, and therefore, “didn’t worry about much.”⁶³

Carolyn’s heightened sensitivity to the impact *Sputnik* had on American society can probably be attributed to the greater degree of intellectual richness in her life. She had received a 4-year education at a good women’s college and married a man who, by 1957, was well on his way to receiving a doctoral degree from Johns Hopkins University. It is important, however, to differentiate between Carolyn’s perception of *Sputnik*’s public impact and its personal or private impact. Personally, she was unaffected by the Soviet satellite, and it is her belief that privately, most middle-class Americans were unaffected as well. In this regard, Carolyn is more similar to Joan and Natalie than she is different. Overshadowing the subtle differences between the three women is the fact that all three reported an essential lack of concern for—and even an indifference to—the launch of the Soviet satellite called *Sputnik*.

Their reactions, or lack thereof, contradict the vast body of historical research on *Sputnik*, which brings up the even larger issue of how historians measure an event’s significance. Unquestionably, *Sputnik* opened a new chapter in humankind’s technological and scientific history. Historians may draw such objective conclusions rather confidently. But determining an event’s cultural significance entails a greater degree of subjectivity. Let us return to Dickson’s summation of *Sputnik*’s impact: “The most basic fear instilled in Americans by *Sputnik* was fear for their lives.”⁶⁴ How can one reconcile Dickson’s published version of the truth with the accounts of Americans who lived through the event?

Obviously, the two cannot be reconciled. The experiences of Joan, Natalie, and Carolyn are antithetical to the description set forth by this historian. It is tempting to excuse their inaccuracy with the (convincing) argument that women in the 1950s lived apolitical lives, and therefore, cannot be accounted for in a question of such political significance. This excuse, however, is inadequate, for the extent to which women’s lives were apolitical only explains their experience—it does not change it. And if we accept historical accuracy as our goal, we must at-

⁶³ Carolyn Manley interview.

⁶⁴ Dickson, 116.

tempt to account for the differences in experience among dissimilar demographic groups, whether or not they were granted the privilege of political participation.

The Role of Basketball in Sherman Alexie's *The Lone Ranger and Tonto Fistfight in Heaven*

Kimmie Farris

Among the most popular sports in America, basketball can be said to rank in the top three, along with baseball and football. Basketball means many things to different people – to some, it is a way of keeping physically fit; for others, it is a means to riches and glory; among other crowds, it is a fairly wholesome avenue of entertainment. Interestingly, this hallmark of Americana is hugely popular among Native Americans throughout the United States (Smith 62, Donahue 43). In *The Lone Ranger and Tonto Fistfight in Heaven*, the Native American writer Sherman Alexie frequently makes note of basketball's popularity among Indians on the Spokane reservation and offers insight into the importance the sport ultimately plays among reservation Indians' daily lives. For the characters of his novel, basketball functions not only as a physical activity, but also as a link to their past, as well as a hope, tempered with past failure, for an ameliorated future.

Throughout *The Lone Ranger and Tonto Fistfight in Heaven*, one is given the sense that Spokane males have lost touch with their heritage as raiders and warriors. The only fights seen on the reservation in modern times are domestic disputes and fights with the Bureau of Indian Affairs – hardly the type of altercations of which true legends are born. As readers, we are first introduced to basketball on the Spokane reservation in "The Only Traffic Signal on the Reservation Doesn't Flash Red Anymore." It is here where we find that basketball has replaced the act of raiding for many members of the Spokane tribe. Victor describes Julius Windmaker, the tribe's current basketball hero, and his friends as "little warriors looking for honor in some twentieth-century vandalism" when they are off the court (44). On the court, though, Victor says that a basketball hero on the reservation "is a hero forever ... their status grows over the years as the stories are told and retold" (48).

The idea that basketball is the modern Indian's sole path to glory is reiterated in various stories in the novel. Victor claims that "the feeling of immortality" that accompanies being a basketball star is what "drives a

ballplayer" (46). The sense of becoming a legend was once found in counting coup or killing buffalo; in the modern world, reservation Indians become warriors and legends through basketball. In "Jesus Christ's Half-Brother is Alive and Well on the Spokane Indian Reservation," the narrator describes himself and those he plays basketball with as "warriors roaring against the air and the nets" (118). Victor and Adrian, in "The Only Traffic Signal," describe young Lucy as a "little warrior" for being a third-grade girl who plays on the sixth-grade boys' team (53). In "Somebody Kept Saying Powwow," Norma's newspaper article about Junior Polatkin's basketball victory demonstrates the extent to which one basketball victory can immortalize a man as a warrior. Junior describes her writing as "close to a poem," where she extols him "tipi-[creeping] the Chargers by stealing the inbounds pass and then stealing the game away" (205-6). She continues by reporting that one person thought "he was Crazy Horse for just a second," concluding that "Junior has earned a couple points more on the warrior scale" (206).

The ease with which basketball replaced traditional warfare as a method of becoming a hero can perhaps be linked to the tradition of counting coup. According to Peter Donhaue, Professor of English at Birmingham-Southern College, "counting coups, the practice of racing up to within reach of the enemy to taunt him, requires great speed, quickness, and dexterity" – traits that are also key to winning a basketball game (55). When reviewing *The Lone Ranger and Tonto Fistfight in Heaven*, Alan Velie, Professor of English at the University of Oklahoma says:

More than most ethnic groups, Indians have a strong sense of history; they think constantly of their glamorous past of mounted warfare. They are painfully aware that the days of stealing horses and making war are over, but they are not sure what to replace those activities with. The chief substitute is basketball, a game that reservation Indians love as much as urban blacks do (407).

Thus, we can see that a game traditionally thought to originate with Caucasians was perfectly adapted to become the most favored sport on the modern reservation.

Furthering the concept of basketball as the new road for reservation men to become warriors and heroes is the sense of community involvement. When Indians lived traditionally, the tribe "packed up its

lodge poles and tepee skins ... and migrated in pursuit of the [buffalo] herd” and thus were present when the warriors/hunters made their kills (Smith 60). The tribe was present for and extremely involved in immortalizing the hunters’ success – a trait shared among the reservation in supporting their local basketball teams. Throughout *Lone Ranger and Tonto*, Alexie emphasizes the entire community’s involvement in their basketball team. Basketball gives them the heroes they speak of daily (like Julius Windmaker and Silas Sirius) and creates the new legends that bind them together.

If basketball can be seen as a replacement of the old days when Indians were warriors and hunters, it can simultaneously be seen as a continuance of their religious practices and traditions. According to John Oxendine, Professor of Physical Education at Temple University, “sports occupied an extremely prominent role in the traditional life of most Indian communities” prior to the intervention of whites, and were often “steeped in tradition and intimately related to all phases of life, especially to ceremony, ritual, magic, and religion” (xii-xiii). Traditionally, entire communities supported a team that was composed primarily of one family group (Oxendine 26). Oxendine states that “major athletic events provided one of the most satisfying ways to develop community or tribal unity as well as some means of interaction with an outside group” (27). A game known as Pok-Ta-Pok (a traditional Indian game highly similar to basketball), which was played on a court “only slightly larger than today’s basketball [courts]” was “so ritualistic in style and [religious] significance that it could hardly be considered a game as the term is used today” (Oxendine 59). Ultimately, Oxendine claims that “the religious significance of sport enhanced its status in the lives of Indians” (6).

With this backdrop of the traditional significance both in community formation and religious connections, the Spokane preoccupation with basketball is transformed from a general obsession with a sport to one of the few methods left to reservation Indians to preserve their traditions. Although the actual sport is slightly different from days past, the idea behind an Indian basketball game is one emphasizing intense community involvement and religious significance. In “The Only Traffic Signal”, Victor claims that “Indians kind of see ballplayers as saviors ... if basketball would have been around, I’m sure Jesus Christ would’ve been the best point guard in Nazareth” (52). Although the religious imagery

has changed from traditional Spokane mythology – in which a giant dragon creates the main water source used by the Spokane tribes and Coyote made man – the concept behind sports having religious significance has remained the same (Ruby and Brown 3,7).

Several characters throughout the novel underscore the religious function that basketball has assumed for the Spokane tribe. The narrator of “Jesus Christ’s Half-Brother” tells us that playing basketball “until [his] fingertips bled and [his] feet ached and [his] hair stuck to the skin of [his] bare back,” in conjunction with caring for his adopted child, has become his religion (114). The physicality of basketball seems to be a catharsis for the narrator – much like dances, ceremonies, and sweats involve physical purification of the body in order to prime the participant for religious revelation. Thus, we can view basketball as the latest in a series of religious dances.

Simon, in “The First Annual All-Indian Horseshoe Pitch and Barbecue,” continues the theme of basketball as the Spokane’s new religion when we discover that he has won the prize as the best storyteller for saying that basketball should be the tribe’s new religion (147). He tells the audience: “A ball bouncing on hardwood sounds like a drum ... an all-star jacket makes you one of the Shirt Wearers” and asks the crowd, “Do you think it’s any coincidence that basketball was invented just one year after the Ghost Dancers fell at Wounded Knee?” (147). Simon posits that not only is basketball the religion that the Spokane tribe should adopt – rather than Western religion – he “clearly means to suggest that basketball is an extension of the Ghost Dance” (Donahue 58).

With a continuance of tradition considered, basketball thus becomes a way to synthesize conflicting ideas of religion. In Louise Erdrich’s *Love Medicine*, a major theme of the novel is reconciling Catholicism and traditional beliefs; this theme can be seen in living example through basketball. Basketball is a sport supposedly brought to Indians from the white man along with Christianity, technology, etc. Similar to their adoption of the horse, Indians have adapted the game to suit their own needs – needs that involve a high degree of community involvement, ritual, and dance components – to become a truly integral part of their lives.

In his poem, “Why We Play Basketball,” Sherman Alexie claims that Indians play because “in basketball, we/ find enough reasons/ to be-

lieve in God,/ or something smaller than God./ We believe in Seymour, who holds/ the ball in his hands/ like you hold your God" (711). This seems to epitomize the Spokanes' ability to take a Western idea, God, and adapt it to a world in which individual men and women receive daily truths from the spirits. Although "several instances of the spiritual association of basketball with Christianity appear ... more relevant are the associations which Alexie makes between basketball and Native American spiritual beliefs and practices" (Donahue 51). Instead of a metaphysical, impersonal figurehead to the religion like seen in Western religion, basketball – when seen in context of sports in their traditional role as a religious ceremony – the player and community get to participate directly in the religious process.

The two functions of basketball in *The Lone Ranger and Tonto Fistfight in Heaven* that have hereto been examined, an extension of warrior culture and religious ceremony, contribute to the final role that basketball plays throughout the novel: one of hope for the individual as well as for the reservation. Hope for the individual is expressed frequently among tribal members, but is generally tempered with an expectation that the individual will fail. Such is the situation when in "The Only Traffic Signal" Adrian and Victor discuss Julius Windmaker's prospects. When Adrian remarks that Julius "looks good" and must not be drinking, Victor's response is: "Yet" (45). There is a fatalistic attitude taken towards Julius that he is doomed to fail, although Victor constantly hopes that Julius will be able to overcome the odds – to be a great basketball player, to go to college, and to be the one kid who gets away from the reservation. However, Victor tells the reader that "there's a definite history of reservation heroes who never finish high school [or even] basketball season" (47). Instead, they become drunkards, get girls pregnant, and never hold down a job. Many seem incapable of letting go of the glory they once had as basketball heroes and spend the rest of their lives trying to relive their past.

By the end of "The Only Traffic Signal," we see that Julius is already washed up and the next star – a young girl named Lucy – is already receiving the reservation's attention. Victor, perpetually optimistic, exclaims: "God, I hope she makes it all the way" in spite of the failure of his last hero (53). This points to the larger issue at play – the reservation's need to hope in the face of generally overwhelming odds. As many reser-

vation Indians grow up in poverty and dysfunctional homes, a beacon of hope must exist somewhere; basketball, with its connections to a glorious warrior past and traditional religion, seems like a bastion of the reservation. It is a place where men can be thought of as men again, and where children have an opportunity to make it out of the reservation and into college.

Alexie tempers this hope by never showing us an example of a basketball star who truly succeeds. In "Somebody Kept Saying Powwow" and "Junior Polatkin's Wild West Show," we find that Junior Polatkin went to college on a basketball scholarship, only to impregnate a white girl, feel that he was "dying at school," and thus returns to the reservation (242). Junior is by far the most successful star we see – the others never even make it off the reservation – and he lives a relatively normal, unsuccessful life. The only advantage he seems to have over Julius is that he is not perpetually drunk. For the basketball star in *Lone Ranger and Tonto*, their "glory days have disappeared, suggesting the question of to what extent Alexie truly believes in the power of athletics, since athletic glory is normally fleeting at best" (Grassian 74). Alexie further suggests that the basketball star can never live up to the promise of hope – college scholarships, integration into the middle-class world, severance from an alcoholic lifestyle – in part because they are too tied to the tribe to ever truly leave the reservation, as seen through Junior (Velie 407, Oxendine 266-7).

So why does the reservation continue to hope for its heroes? In the words of Sherman Alexie – "the rags-to-riches imagery is what the NBA is all about" and through extension, reservation basketball is also about the same kind of hope for a better life (Feit 2). Part of the equation may be fuelled by the occasional true success story – like the story of Alexie himself, who played high school basketball and earned a scholarship at Washington State Univeristy in Pullman and has now gone on to achieve relative fame and a comfortable middle-class life (Spencer 4). The other factor may simply be the need to have hope – in the worst of times people, and Indians in particular, need something to hope for. In the time of Black Elk, it was the hope that the Ghost Dance would work and reverse the destruction caused by advancing manifest destiny. For modern Spokane Indians, hope rests in the possibility, not so much the reality, that basketball could lead a way back to better times.

Peter Donahue suggests that “basketball often takes on healing qualities in Alexie’s work” and that this can be seen as a function of the traditional use of sports in healing both the individual and the community (52). This underscores the role of basketball throughout *The Lone Ranger and Tonto Fistfight in Heaven*: it is a game that the community hopes will bring rejuvenation. It can heal their broken pride by creating a new generation of warriors, it can heal their broken religion by creating a link with traditional ceremonies and dances, and it has the potential to heal their shattered hopes by creating a means to a better life. Although Alexie certainly doesn’t laud basketball as a curative capable of restoring the prairies to a pristine condition, as the Ghost Dance was touted to do, he does emphasize its important role in preserving the sanity and dignity of the modern-day Spokane reservation.

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Competitive Analysis: Regions Financial Corporation & the Banking Industry

Justin Fargason

Dominant Economic Features

Banking Defined

Standard and Poor's Banking Industry Survey defines the role of banks as serving as an "intermediary between customers who save money and customers who borrow it. Their principle activities are collecting deposits and disbursing loans" (Oja: Industry Surveys 11). Banks are categorized as money centers, regional banks, or super-regional banks (12). Money centers concentrate on international lending and transactions involving foreign currencies, while regional banks focus on lending money and depository accounts (12). Super-regional banks are a new category that includes regional banks that "operate across many states or geographic areas and can be national in scope" (Oja: Industry Surveys 12).

A bank earns money through earnings assets that are comprised of different types of loans and securities (Oja: Industry Survey 12). Loan types include the following: commercial, consumer, and real estate, and securities include investment and trading accounts (12). Loans outstanding in the United States at the end of 2007 total 7.91 trillion dollars (Oja: Industry Surveys 12).

Opportunities for Economies of Scale

The banking industry has been greatly consolidated (Oja: Industry Surveys 6, 13). Economies of scale have allowed banks with larger portfolios to earn higher returns, and level of service to customers has been higher with the larger banks that are able to offer more specialty services (6). Standard and Poor's reports that according to the FDIC in December 2007, 14 FDIC insured banks had assets each in excess of \$100 billion and totaling 6.35 trillion or 48.7% aggregate market share (6). The top five U.S. banks in December 2007 were Citigroup Inc., Bank of America Corp., JPMorgan Chase & Co., Wachovia Corp., and Wells Fargo &

Co., holding assets from 575 billion to 2.22 trillion (Oja: Industry Surveys 6). Eighty-nine banks had assets in excess of \$10 billion, 68.4% of market share (6). The number of FDIC insured commercial banks declined from 14,628 in 1975 to 7,282 before 2008 (7). Oja reports that in 1998 alone, 545 mergers were planned, and from 2001 to 2007 a mean of 280 banks merged per year (7). With respect to geographic regions, most mergers and acquisitions have occurred within regions (8). Standard and Poor's believes this is due to Wall Street's preference for cost-savings-benefits that banks will not have to struggle to realize (8). The 1990's was marked by mergers and acquisitions of non-bank entities that expanded the service of large U.S. banks (Oja: Industry Surveys 8).

Financial Crisis and Consolidation

Lack of mergers and acquisitions became a symptom of poor health. Only a single merger took place from October 2007 to June 2008 (Oja: Industry Surveys 7). Lower stock prices and financing problems that prevent merger and acquisition capital from being raised, as well as questions raised about the soundness of a target firm's credit quality have prevented merger and acquisition activity (7). Due to the financial crisis starting in 2007 that relates to "housing-related credit decline combined with a capital markets liquidity crisis," consolidation of the United States banking industry has slowed to a halt (Oja: Industry Surveys 1, 7).

Prior to the current housing and liquidity crisis and during the time of consolidation, banks grew markedly (Oja: Industry Surveys 8). While the number of banks declined, the average FDIC-insured commercial bank grew its assets from \$260 million per bank to 1.4 billion per bank from 1989 to 2007, a gain of 10.2% per year (8). Standard and Poor's reports that consolidation will do the following: "continue to improve efficiency, boost sustainable profits, and help banks withstand heated competition from other financial service providers, both domestic and international" (8). In strong economic conditions, Standard and Poor's believes consolidation will continue (Oja: Industry Surveys 8). The recent financial crisis has been an interruption in banks' growth to which market participants and potential participants must strategically recon (see section III for more on consolidation).

Competitive Forces

Five Forces Analysis

Datamonitor, a division of Reuter's, uses the Five Forces Model to analyze competition (see Graph 1; *Retail Lending in the United States* 12). The major competitive forces are "Degree of rivalry, buyer power, supplier power, new entrants, and substitutes" (*Retail Lending in the United States* 12). Datamonitor's analysis shows the model skewed farthest away from buyer power and farthest toward supplier power in 2006 (see Graph 1; *Retail Lending in the United States* 12). The large number of individual consumers accounts for the lack of buyer power (12). Suppliers have a great degree of power, because of the need for information technology software that will perform complex functions and protect customers' private information (12). Datamonitor's *Retail Lending in the United States* report describes important characteristics of the competitive environment in which banks compete: "There is little fundamental difference between the services and products offered by the main retail lending institutions, such as Citigroup Inc. Switching costs are often low, and consumers are not loyal" (13). Another reason for the relatively high power of suppliers is the expense associated with training employees on new software (*Retail Lending in the United States* 14).

Datamonitor finds an increasing likelihood of new entrants into the marketplace, due to recent lending growth (*Retail Lending in the United States* 12) and higher fee and interest revenue (15). However, entrance is "capitally-intensive" or requires large amounts of capital (*Retail Lending in the United States* 15). This narrows the range of players who can compete. New entrants must have the following characteristics: "substantial funds to lend, additional capital safety reserves, and the ability to construct or access a distribution network or build a brand" (*Retail Lending in the United States* 15). These are difficult tasks for players lacking extensive training, capital, or both.

Another significant problem associated with entrance into the market is the significant cost of property expenses and employee wages that are necessary for operating a "physical branch network," that is the retail locations where loans are originated and accounts are maintained (*Retail Lending in the United States* 15). Datamonitor's final assessment

of the threat of new entrants is moderate, citing the stringent requirements of government regulation and the need for highly trained and specialized employees as evidence (15). If new entrants do arrive in the marketplace, it is likely that existing firms may not be hurt and may fear new product offerings from existing competitors to a greater degree than they fear new entrants (*Retail Lending in the United States* 12).

New Entrants

Datamonitor, a Reuter's database, notes that the amount of consumer credit available in recent years has increased; thus, new entrants have not always seized market share from existing businesses (*Retail Lending in the United States* 17). Changes in national regulations and cultural differences intensify competition in the banking industry to a greater degree than the threat of new entrants (17). This explains why mergers and acquisitions in the banking industry have historically been within geographic regions (see Opportunities for Economies of Scale section above; Oja: Industry Surveys 8). Since cultural factors are important to competition (*Retail Lending in the United States* 17), a bank from New York with branch employees from New York may not do well in Alabama.

Another important competitive issue is that rivalry is strong due to the lack of diversity in products and services, exit from the market becomes unlikely or impossible for consumers, and interest rates provided are the only distinguishable characteristic that provides basis for competition (*Retail Lending in the United States* 17). Thus, competition from substitutes can be high if the interest rates that the rival firm is able to provide are lower than the firm can provide (12, 17). Banks provide products that nearly all consumers need and it becomes not whether or not consumers will not buy a product but which slightly differentiated product will they buy (*Retail Lending in the United States* 17).

Change, Competitive Intensity, & Profitability

Major Players

The banking industry in the United States is relatively fragmented compared to other countries, despite extensive deregulation and consolidation (Oja: Industry Surveys 6). As noted above, consolidation helps U.S. banks compete with less fragmented international banks (see Opportunities for Economies of Scale section; Oja: Industry Surveys 8).

Since the 1980's, banks have strategically positioned for larger market shares through mergers and acquisitions (6). Standard and Poor's banking analyst Eric Oja describes the leaders of the banking industry as "behemoth players" of which the top ten lenders comprise 37% of the U.S. market (6). This makes for an active competitive environment among a sizable group of large players (see table 2). Oja posits that as long as market share is not captured by a handful of banks which would stifle competition, both banks and customers benefit from the advantages arising from consolidations (Oja: Industry Surveys 6).

Change in the Form of Crisis

Standard and Poor's describes the housing crisis starting in mid-2007 as a result of mortgages on properties with inflated values (Oja: Industry Surveys 1-2). Mortgages are a large part of business for regional banks (Jackson N.P.) and comprise 80% of the retail lending market in the United States, the world's largest market for retail lending with 48.3% global market share (*Retail Lending in the United States* 3). Eric Oja writes the following on the health of regional banks: "US regional banks are facing severe challenges to their profitability—and for some, challenges to their very existence" (Industry Surveys 1). All industry players must respond to these challenges and Oja elaborates, distinguishing the current housing and credit crisis from other financial crises by highlighting "[the] geographic breadth, the size and type of the losses inflicted, the complexity of the financial instruments involved in the losses, and the large range of financial companies affected" (Oja: Industry Surveys 1). The banking industry must face these challenges and respond with timely and well-thought-out strategy, in order to respond to consolidation, dynamic change in portfolio values, and competitive pressures.

Expansion of Products & Services

Commercial banks have recently offered more products and services than in the past (Oja: Industry Surveys 13). A 1999 Congressional Bill, the Gramm-Leach-Bliley Act, repealed the Great Depression-era Glass-Steagall Act that had done the following: "authorized deposit insurance and restricted banks' ability to engage in debt and securities underwriting in an effort to protect bank depositors" (13). As Glass-Steagall had restricted the ability of banks to provide a diverse array of services,

the Gramm-Leach-Bliley Act allowed banks to compete in areas outside of traditional lending (13). According to Oja, this change has led commercial banks into new areas of business (Oja: Industry Surveys 13). Another change-driving facet of the banking industry has to do with customer service and convenience.

The banking industry today is characterized by increasing importance of customer service and convenience for consumers (Oja: Industry Surveys 11). Convenience features such as “extended hours, prime locations, customer-friendly products, Internet banking, reduced fees, and faster, more personalized customer service” are characteristic of the industry’s offerings (11). The trend has been toward “de novo branches” which are built from the ground up and customized to incorporate the customized products and services that banks are using to stay competitive (11). For example, Oja gives the example of New England banks moving into Florida and starting “de novo” banks that will meet the needs of the retiree population that needs customized banking products and services (Oja: Industry Surveys 11). Innovations such as this have enabled banks to respond to changes in consumer demand.

Legal Considerations

Legal considerations have also been a driving force of consolidation and change in the banking industry: especially regulatory changes brought on the banking industry by the advent of the Sarbanes-Oxley Act of 2002 and the relevant sections of the U.S. Patriot Act of 2001 (Oja: Industry Surveys 11). Oja suggests that industry experts have seen compliance with these laws to be expensive and significantly problematic for small or community banks (Industry Surveys 11). Compliance with the Sarbanes-Oxley Act, according to Eric Oja, is difficult for small, community banks for one main reason: Sarbanes-Oxley requires audit committees to be comprised of independent members with a “financial expert” on the board of directors, the qualifications for such an expert are defined by the law. Small and community banks encounter problems finding and/or funding Sarbanes-Oxley audits with a qualified “financial expert” (11). To add insult to injury, the Patriot Act calls for increased investment in technology in order to prevent the funding of terrorist groups (Oja: Industry Surveys 11). These legal considerations have been additional cannon fodder for the shift towards consolidation.

On the positive side, the banking industry benefitted from a bill signed by President Bush in 2005; the Bankruptcy Abuse Prevention and Consumer Protection Act makes filing bankruptcy and discharging debts more difficult for consumers, helping lenders such as banks (Oja: Industry Surveys 10). More specifically, the law makes “sheltering” real-estate and makes filing chapter thirteen bankruptcies more difficult (chapter thirteen requires payment of debts only to the amount of \$10,000 or 25% of debts owed) [Oja: Industry Surveys 10]. This may be too little and too late for many small and community banks.

Profitability

Profitability is not good for the banking industry overall. The regional banking industry is down 21% year-to-date in 2008 measured by the industry exclusive, Standard and Poor’s 1500 Regional Banks Index (Oja: Sub Industry Summary 1). This is a nearly 8% steeper loss than the broadly inclusive Standard and Poor’s 1500 Index (1). Banking analyst Eric Oja of Standard and Poor’s attributes these deficiencies in industry wide profitability to the need for loan-loss provisions for bad loans (1). Banks will likely move towards quality and improvement of balance sheets by adding capital reserves (Oja: Industry Surveys; Oja Sub-Industry Outlook 1).

Market Positions & Strategic Groups

Crisis & Strategic Groups

The largest losses have been incurred by the largest financial institutions. However, Regions’ competitor National City Corp, the second largest U.S. regional bank, has suffered over 2.5 billion in credit losses and 500 million in write-downs which is on par with many of the largest banks (Oja: Industry Surveys 1; Regions Financial Corporation: Competitors Section). Other regional banks have suffered losses totaling 3 billion with 1.1 billion of that being credit-related from early 2007 to mid 2008 (1). The top 25 earners in the banking industry in terms of net income ranged from 212 million to 15.365 billion in 2007 (Cullen/Frost Bankers & JPMorgan Chase, respectively) [see table 2; Oja: Industry Surveys N.P.] As an example, Citigroup’s net income decreased 83% from 2006 to 2007 (see table 2). During the same time period, Regions Financial, a regional bank, increased its net income by 3% (table 2; Oja: Industry Sur-

veys N.P.). At this time, Regions was not feeling the losses related to its loan portfolio that has presented problems in 2008 that can be seen reflected in a graph of its stock price (see Stock Report 1).

Many Competitors

Standard and Poor's lists 201 competitors to Regions Financial, some of which are national and some of which are regional (Net Advantage: Competitors). Two competitors that represent the diversity of Regions' competitions are Citigroup Inc. and Synovus Financial (Regions Financial Corporation: Competitors section N.P.)

Citigroup vs. Regions

One of Regions' main competitors is Citigroup Inc. of New York. Datamonitor reports that in 2006, Citigroup had 1.884 trillion in total assets, making it one of the industry-leading companies (*Retail Lending in the United States* 20). Citibank is the commercial banking subsidiary of Citigroup and provides the following:

“Consumer finance, mortgage lending, and retail banking products and services, investment banking, commercial banking, cash management, trade finance and e-commerce products and services, and private banking products and services (18)

Regions Financial provides many similar services that include: “banking, brokerage and investment services, mortgage banking, insurance brokerage, credit life insurance, leasing, commercial accounts receivable factoring and specialty financing” (Business Summary 1). Regions had over 143 billion dollars in total assets in 2006 and is considered by Standard and Poor's to qualify as a super-regional bank because of its national presence. The term super-regional bank is not widely used, however.

In further comparison, Regions operates 1,965 full-service offices in sixteen states (Business Summary 1) to Citigroup's 8,110 locations spread over five continents (“Retail Lending in the United States 18). Datamonitor describes Citigroup as “the most diversified financial services company in the world” (“Citigroup Inc.” 1). The diversified nature of Citigroup's business brings it additional resources from which to draw when credit and lending conditions deteriorate, as in today's environment (See sections above; Oja: Industry Surveys 1). For example in 2007,

Citigroup had a dividend payout ratio of 296% while Regions paid only 74% (Oja: Industry Surveys 28). Dividend payout is one of many but an important consideration in regard to raising equity capital. Investors are not likely to provide funds unless dividends, capital gains, or both are though to be likely.

Additionally, in January 2008, the *Wall Street Journal* reported that Regions was increasing its loan-loss provisions to four times its 3rd quarter amount in the 4th quarter of 2007 (“Regions to Increase Provision” 1). Not soon after, in July 2008, Regions’ Board of Directors approved the move to cut its dividend to 74% its 2007 amount (Davis, Paul 1). The Standard and Poor’s Review of the Regional Banking Sub-Industry notes how banks resort to cutting dividends to increase capital reserves (Oja 1). Cutting dividends retains company earnings but is not a popular move with stockholders. Justifying this move, Regions’ Chief Executive Officer and Chairman of the Board Dowd Ritter writes in his “2008 Letter to Shareholders”: “We believe it is prudent to retain more capital in this environment, and the dividend action we took allows us to build our capital base and positions us for future growth” (1). Cutting dividends at that point could allow for future growth. At the same time, Citigroup declared a dividend of \$.32/share, 320% higher than Regions’ dividend, according to Standard and Poor’s Net Advantage Corporate Actions section (Regions Financial Corporation N.P.). The difference in dividend payout between Regions and Citi is a good indication that Regions is not performing competitively with at least one of the most diverse and best funded national banks (Regions is performing better against smaller competitors and it is likely even the smaller national banks).

Synovus vs. Regions

Regions Financial is performing more favorably with smaller, less diversified competitors like Synovus Financial (Synovus) [Net Advantage 1]. In July, Synovus paid a \$.17/share dividend but decreased its dividend 65% to \$.06 per share in September of 2008 (Net Advantage 1). Regions and Synovus were both downgraded in March 2008 (“Regional Banks Downgraded” 1). Synovus’ stock price declined sharply around January 2008, while Regions’ stock declined more gradually starting in October of 2007 (see Graph 2 and Graph 3; Regions Financial Corporation N.P.;

Synovus Financial N.P.). This is likely due to Regions size relative to Synovus. Dividend analysis between Synovus, Regions, and Citi shows how the larger banks do not have to take drastic measures such as cutting dividends to the same extent.

Strategic Moves of Rivals

One reason for Citigroup's success is its ability to withstand turmoil by using its extensive capital reserves. In 2006, Citi made 21.5 billion in net income (*Retail Lending in the United States* 20) to Regions' 1.35 billion. Regions needs to emulate Citi and raise as much capital as possible without increasing its portfolio's risk. Regions and Synovus were both downgraded by Moody's as a result of questions about commercial real-estate investments ("Regional Banks Downgraded" 1). Regional banks will look to continue and raise capital through issuing common and preferred stock, not buy back their own stock, and cut dividends more if necessary (Oja: Sub-Industry Review 1). Regions' shareholders must recognize that that other banks are enduring these measures and that long-term value is dependent on staying up to competitors such as Citigroup as much as possible and remaining competitive with smaller players like Synovus Financial.

Key Success Factors

Key success factors are defined by Thompson, Strickland, & Gamble as:

“those competitive factors that most affect industry members' ability to prosper in the marketplace—the particular strategy elements, product attributes, resources, competencies, competitive capabilities, and market achievements that spell the difference between being a strong competitor and a weak competitor—and sometimes between profit and loss” (285).

Key success factors for all banks are for one to survive the credit and housing crisis. How different strategic groups, national and international banks versus regional and super-regional banks deal with the crisis is complex but can be boiled down to two essential success factors: the need for additional capital and risk reduction.

Need for Additional Capital

According to Standard and Poor's, this decline in the credit quality of regional banks' portfolios has caused the need for raising additional capital (Oja: Sub-Industry Outlook 1). The primary ways banks do this is by quitting share repurchase programs, selling preferred stock, or cutting dividends to common stockholders (Oja: Industry Surveys 1) Regional banks have to continue and raise capital and increase liquidity and will continue to experience problems funding loans, despite Federal Reserve rate cuts and other measures by the government (Oja: Sub-Industry Outlook 1).

Risk Reduction

Risk reduction is pivotal for Regions. In Regions' Form 8-K filed with the Securities and Exchange Commission, Regions highlights initiatives to exit sub-prime lending, shut down international lending, and focus on home equity exposure (N.P.). Regions must find a way to mitigate the most risk without sacrificing returns, relative to its competitors. In Regions' 8-K form filed with the Securities and Exchange Commission, Regions shows a 19% reduction in its residential homebuilder portfolio and a 44% reduction in exposure to real-estate investments condominium assets (Mergent N.P.). This is one way of reducing risk for the time being.

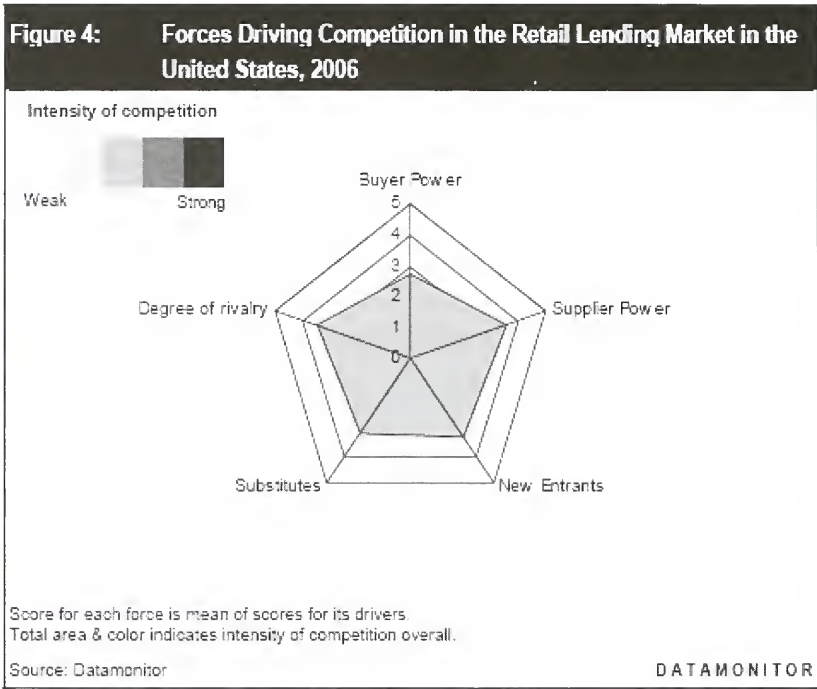
One specific way that Regions is working to reduce risk is to shore up its investments in Florida real-estate (Form 8-K N.P.). Regions added "payment hardship tools" on its website, Florida branches are calling high risk customers, and Regions is working to reduce risk (Form 8-K N.P.) Another way that Regions can reduce risk and build up capital reserves is by improving its wealth management business, Morgan Keegan. Regions is working to "leverage full depth of Morgan Keegan capabilities among all Lines of Business...Increase core customer deposits to optimize the profitability of balance sheet growth" (Form 8-K N.P.). Morgan Keegan is a significant asset that Regions can leverage to fight its competition.

Prospects for Profitability

Large regional banks with available capital reserves will be able to continue to extend loans to residential developers, despite extensive losses (Oja: Sub Industry Survey 1). However, the industry is vulnerable in the following categories, if the United States economy continues to deteriorate: “first mortgages, home equity loans, car loans, credit cards, and commercial and industrial lending” (1). According to Philip Jackson; former member of the Federal Reserve’s Board of Governors, former Board Member of the Resolution Trust Corporation, and distinguished lecturer at Birmingham-Southern College; declines in housing prices and the impending financial crisis have caused serious problems for regional banks (N.P.). Additionally, commercial and real-estate lending is crucial to regional banks’ success, and further economic problems could seriously impair these banks’ ability to make consumer and commercial loans (Jackson N.P.). It is important to note that Regional banks have not been shielded from losses in 2008 like the prior year and will continue to face turmoil (Oja: Sub Industry Review 1).

In March 2008, nine regional banks were downgraded by Moody’s Investor Services (two of which were mentioned above, Regions and Synovus) [“Regional Banks Downgraded” 1]. This downgrading added to a list of four banks already downgraded and many more on review (1) and is a sign that confidence in many industry participants is not favorable. The overall regional banking industry is down year-to-date in 2008 (Oja: Sub-Industry Survey 1). For 2008, Standard and Poor’s describes the outlook of the regional banking industry as negative because of increasing loan loss provisions that will appear on banks income statements (1). This is due in part to the heavy losses in portfolios of loans made to residential developers, while other types of loans have not resulted in such detrimental losses to this point (1). However, Regions is working to mitigate risk and decrease exposure to these type asset classes (Form 8-K N.P.) which in conjunction with other strategic initiatives could potentially lead to increased growth and a stronger market position in future.

Graph 1



Source: (*Retail Lending in the United States 12*)

Graph 2**Graph 3**

Graph 4

Source for Stock Charts: (Standard & Poor's Net Advantage Online N.P.)

Table 1**TOP 25 EARNERS IN BANKING — 2007***(Ranked by 2007 net income)*

COMPANY	NET INCOME (MIL. \$)		PROFITABILITY RATIOS (%)			
	2006	2007	RETURN ON ASSETS		RETURN ON EQUITY	
			2006	2007	2006	2007
1. J.P. Morgan Chase	13,649	15,365	1.07	1.05	12.25	12.86
2. Bank of America	21,133	14,982	1.53	0.93	18.07	10.77
3. Wells Fargo	8,482	8,057	1.76	1.52	19.59	17.22
4. Wachovia	7,745	6,312	1.26	0.85	13.21	8.75
5. US Bancorp	4,751	4,324	2.19	1.87	23.35	21.19
6. Citigroup Inc.	21,249	3,617	1.25	0.18	18.41	3.08
7. Bank of New York Mellon	1,476	2,227	1.44	1.48	13.75	10.86
8. BB&T Corp.	1,528	1,734	1.33	1.37	13.36	14.23
9. SunTrust Banks	2,117	1,634	1.17	0.89	12.33	9.19
10. PNC Financial Services	2,595	1,467	2.68	1.22	26.81	11.44
11. Regions Financial	1,353	1,393	1.19	0.98	8.64	6.88
12. State Street Corp.	1,096	1,261	1.07	1.01	16.10	13.59
13. Fifth Third Bancorp	1,184	1,076	1.15	1.02	12.17	11.22
14. KeyCorp	1,183	941	1.29	0.98	15.59	12.18
15. Northern Trust	665	727	1.17	1.13	17.64	17.20
16. Comerica	782	682	1.41	1.13	15.30	13.28
17. M&T Bank	839	654	1.50	1.07	13.81	10.25
18. Marshall & Ilsley	808	497	1.58	0.86	14.93	7.54
19. Zions Bancorp.	583	494	1.29	0.96	12.90	9.78
20. Synovus Financial	617	343	2.07	1.06	18.53	9.59
21. National City Corp.	2,300	314	1.63	0.21	16.90	2.23
22. Associated Banc-Corp.	317	286	1.47	1.35	13.86	12.49
23. TCF Financial	245	267	1.75	1.74	24.11	25.02
24. City National	234	223	1.59	1.45	15.84	14.16
25. Cullen/Frost Bankers	194	212	1.55	1.59	16.41	14.86

Source: Standard & Poor's Compustat.

Source: (Oja: Industry Surveys N.P.)

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The Best and Worst of Body Language

Sara Dupre

The words “I hate you,” though powerful, somehow do not convey their meaning’s intended truth or provoke a receiver’s emotional reaction as well as a fist colliding full force into a face. People often mistake language with words as the primary method of communication among each other, but words are only a subsection of the many ways the body communicates to itself and the world around it. People also often mistake the body as the self with desire. The desire to punch someone in the face comes before the action (or inaction), thus presupposing a self behind the body. This realization begs to ask “What is the body? What is its purpose?” If not the self, the only logical deduction is that the body is a tool through which the self is experienced in the physical realm. We see it as a reflection of the world’s impact on it; for example, the use of braces to achieve a “socially acceptable smile,” the bruises on the face of a battered wife, and surgical scars on the once broken body from a car accident (Morris 146). However, we also see the body used as active communication, defiance of the culture around it, such as in Diane Roston’s poem “On Studying Anatomy,” which depicts the body of a fiercely wild woman whose life ends suddenly in a motorcycle accident. She is told to have used her body as a source of self-pride, transcending the limits society placed on her, whereas Fussell, a body builder chronicled in “Utopian Bodies,” a chapter from David B. Morris’s book *Illness and Culture in the Postmodern Age*, tries to perfect his body to be culturally acceptable because he feels his self is not acceptable. Roston’s “thirty-one-year-old Caucasian female flesh” has shown me how much of my life and the lives of many others in Western Civilization are lived trying and failing to create a body for the self to become, instead of using the body to reflect and communicate the true self to the rest of the world (Roston).

Roston’s woman is a “wild mama” of a “motorcycle bird,” or more specifically, “a hawk” (Roston). She clearly was a strong woman who wanted to transcend the limits the world placed on her, as shown through the imagery of flight in the poem, and who wanted to be the hunter in-

stead of the hunted. Described as “naked”, she presents herself without a mask, but with her true strength of self and her “black skid messages... scarred in every crevice of her body’s day” which are her own rough, attention seeking proclamations of her ideas about herself and her world that she fills in every empty spot of her body and day, represented by the “leather, fancy feathers, [and] strong perfume” she “strutted all night” in (Roston). It seems as if she lived strong, lived fast, and died young in a “flashing ruby dress” that Roston suggests cannot be ignored, and thus the anatomy student is forced to see this woman as more than just “gray matter,” physically or figuratively, but a very exclamatory statement of a human being. When hearing this description, why does it rub us just a little bit uncomfortable? Why do most of us feel we should not relate to this woman or should feel distant from her kind of identity? Most of us living in Western society are enveloped in a cultural desire to change who we are in order to be accepted. We are given images of “utopian bodies” and strive to look like them and thus define ourselves by them (Morris). Roston’s woman instead of attempting to transform into an ideal body to find her identity, knows her identity and uses her body to communicate it.

Our bodies are reflections of our selves and methods of communication. How we feel about our bodies and how we feel about our individual selves are knotted. What we convey with our bodies and what we want to convey to the outside world are also very tied together; thus, to hide or change the appearance of our bodies in an attempt to change ourselves is lying and ultimately dangerous. Refusing to eat so you can be skinny and have the desired, beautiful appearance of health is lying because you are, in fact, not healthy at all. We tend to see people, including ourselves, as “bodies without organs,” as Morris puts it (138). We trust and judge the appearance of the body to tell us whether or not that person is healthy and beautiful and thus a good “source of erotic pleasure,” (Morris 139). The opposite of such is illness, and we hide any visible signs of lacking health such as disturbed skin, fat, and scars with make up, clothes, or hiding the body altogether. The irony behind this habit of ours is that in the attempt to appear healthy, we usually accumulate illnesses “including the side effects of anabolic steroids, diet pills, silicon injections, and skin-cutting, bone-breaking cosmetic regimens” (139) and thus deny ourselves the alternate identity we think we need. Fussell, Mor-

ris's featured body builder, "attempted to split off body from mind and emotion in ways ultimately impossible and always self-destructive," (144). As an individual self, he feels insecure, scrawny and weak as a result of self-hatred and the wound his parents' divorce gave him. Instead of embracing who he was, he wanted to convince himself he wasn't insecure or weak by building the perfect muscles. The discipline he put himself through served as a kind of "self-martyrdom" and retaliation against his parents. With his body, he fought against his self instead of embracing and using it to become stronger (144). Roston's woman probably had insecurities, but instead of hiding them by masking her body's representations of them, she acknowledged them with her body and pushed them into something she could be proud of. We have one life to live, and we live it in bodies that are constantly deteriorating and coming closer to death. People like Fussell die slowly and painfully, denying what's really deteriorating within them, whereas people like Roston's woman either die quickly or never feel the effects of time's deterioration until their actual death because they are constantly turning that which tears apart into that which builds. They die proud, "joyfully" knowing themselves all the way through, living for something greater than avoidance of worldly or personal opposition (Roston).

Roston's poem is an inspiration to question ourselves about how we use our bodies and if that use is true to our individual selves. Since first reading the poem, I've wondered how I use or treat my body and what that says about me. I've wondered if there are any ways in which I show self-pride through my body. My findings somewhat surprised me. I too have succumbed to desire to be the "flat-stomached woman" and at times hide myself with bigger clothes or even go so far as to not eat enough. Because of allergies, I often hide my skin with its many break-outs. I hide a surgical scar on my chest often despite it symbolizing a time in my life that really shaped who I am today. In high school, I wore baggy clothes all the time to avoid attracting unwanted male attention. I have a habit of picking at my fingernails when I'm anxious, and thus I hide my hands quite often. Having asthma and allergies my whole life has left me cooped up inside buildings instead of enjoying nature. Also, until recently, social anxiety has kept me hiding all of myself from people except in necessary circumstances. Basically, Roston's poem struck me because it is the exact opposite of who I am. Because of fear, I hide myself by hid-

ing my body. I want to know the fearless pride Roston's woman has and how to physically convey my strengths. Also, by acknowledging my physical weaknesses, not even necessarily changing them but rather just not hiding them, I could turn them into personal strengths.

The body is a tool of communication, a loudspeaker or television screen. To hide, mask, or lie with it is a failed use of the body and will only result in a failed understanding of self. Fussell suffered excruciating physical pain through his bodybuilding thinking he would have more personal strength and security with his identity, but self-inflicted physical pain only increased his self-hatred. Roston's woman knew "down to her bones," in her body and soul, that she wanted to push the limits and live strong, fast and loud (Roston). She clung to her motorcycle, her method of living fast and boldly, and "split" the road and eventually the "sun" by speeding through conventions and passed them. Our bodies are our only chance to act on and in this world. If we choose to settle with only reacting, especially reacting with lies, we are failing our bodies and our selves. We live out a conversation with the world we live in. Our bodies reflect what the world says, but our bodies should then communicate what we have to say to the world.

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Politics in Pakistan and Women of that World: A Case Study

Kathleen Smith

"A girl should be like water, unresisting. It takes on the shape of the container into which it is poured but has no shape of its own" (Goodwin 44). In Pakistan, this characterization typifies the common conception of women. They are damned up, hidden in their houses and beneath *chadors*. Edgar H. Schein, an expert on leadership, says, "one could argue that the only thing of real importance that leaders do is to create and manage culture" (273). In the culture of Pakistan, it seems unlikely that a woman could ever be a leader. However, two women, Benazir Bhutto and Mukhtar Mai have challenged this. Each, in her own way, has stepped into the spotlight, a place typically reserved for men, and served to further the push for equality for women in Pakistan. Both of these women have struggled against the currents of legal discrimination, learned to navigate through their threatening culture, harnessed the power of the people of Pakistan and the world, and emerged as strong, independent leaders. A thorough exploration of their lives offers a vivid picture of what female leadership in Pakistan looks like.

In the discipline of leadership, the importance of culture is clear: it serves as the colorful and intricate backdrop to any discussion. It is the "pattern of shared basic assumptions that the group learned as it solved its problems of external adaptation and internal integration, that has worked well enough to be considered valid and, therefore, to be taught to new members as the correct way to perceive, think, and feel in relation to those problems" (Schein 279). Everything a leader does and says, in some way, reflects his/her particular culture, the way he/she has come to think about it, and the way he/she stands in relation to it. To understand a leader, to analyze his/her decisions, and to determine his/her effectiveness, it is necessary to see and appreciate the path that has led him/her to the moment. J. Thomas Wren and Marc J. Swatez explain, "It hardly needs remarking that any contemporary situation is at least partially a product of what has gone before. In leadership terms, however, one must

[...] begin to identify with some precision the long-term trends and influences which most impact any given leadership scenario, and shape the resulting leadership options" (247).

Pakistan, situated in Southern Asia, bordered by the Arabian Sea, India, China, Afghanistan, and Iran, is truly defined by its culture. Inside its dusty boundaries, Pakistan sustains a society that has been molded by numerous wars and invasions and, most importantly, has been shaped by Islam. In this culture, Islam is a total way of life. Religion affects not only the private, spiritual lives of the people, but their public lives as well. It, as is required, plays a central role in the government. Laws are made in accordance with the legislators' beliefs; separation of church and state is simply not possible. In fact, "the blurring of religion and governance, the increasingly militant Islamic revivalist movement is dictating how people should think, behave, dress, and live" (7), as Jan Goodwin, who has spent significant time traveling and researching Islamic nations such as Pakistan, explains. This movement has had disastrous repercussions for the women of Pakistan. Goodwin further posits, "Muslim women are the wind sock showing which way the wind is blowing in the Islamic world. And as the extremist movement grows, they are also, as one woman I interviewed put it, 'the canaries in the mines'" (28).

The laws that have been passed in recent decades exemplify this changing atmosphere. General Zia, as President of Pakistan, began the journey back to, what he called, "the purity of early Islam" (Goodwin 54). This return meant the subversion of the equality of women granted by the Constitution. In 1979, General Zia established the Hudood Ordinances. Under this came the Zina Ordinance which ruled that sex outside of marriage was a crime against the State. They also lowered women's legal status by refusing to give the maximum sentence to a criminal based on a woman's testimony and by mandating the presentation of four male witnesses in order to prove that a sexual act was indeed rape. This quickly led to the imprisonment of thousands of poor women accused of adultery, but who had, in reality, been raped. Demeaning women further, the Laws of Evidence, passed in 1984, equated two women's testimonies with one man's testimony in financial matters. The next year, the Qisas and Diyat Ordinance declared that blood money, a term used in Pakistani tribal societies to denote financial compensation given for a murdered person in lieu of spilling blood (Hoodbhoy), for a deceased woman would

only be half of what a man would merit.

As part of his quest, Zia also tried to reconstruct the “veil and four walls,” a notion that called for female invisibility, by prescribing what he considered to be appropriate dress. Overnight, the style for Muslim women in Pakistan changed: all but the wealthiest women wore a loose, high-necked, long-sleeved tunic that hung below the knee, and, under this, they wore baggy pants. The new mandatory ensemble was completed with the addition of the *chador*, a large shawl that covered the wearer’s head and most of her body. A final injury to the plight of women was sustained in May of 1991 when the stringent Shariah Law Bill was passed. One leading feminist described it as “a means to control women and marginalize them instead of bringing in a just order. It is a law that facilitates aggression against women” (qtd. in Goodwin 59). Women became a lower species: “New laws were issued on obscenity and pornography, and women began to be generally regarded as synonymous with obscenity, immorality, and corruption. If women were harassed, killed, or raped in the streets or at home, it was because they had provoked these attacks by their speech, action, or just by their very presence” (Goodwin 55).

The practices these laws condone now terrorize the daily lives of women throughout Pakistan; unimaginable horrors are a harsh reality throughout the nation. The terrible transformation had taken root and had become part of the culture of Pakistan: “The Koranic injunctions for men to cast down their eyes in the presence of the opposite sex appeared forgotten. . . .women were now being scrutinized in a manner that was previously unheard of” (Goodwin 55). The struggle begins at birth; a woman is often looked down upon if she does not give birth to a son; a daughter is not as desirable, and, despite scientific facts that prove the contrary, it is believed to be the woman’s fault for having a daughter. If a family is poor, it is not uncommon to sell a daughter into child prostitution or slavery. Even when she has grown up and is married, a woman is no better off. In fact, her husband has the right to discipline her as he sees fit. This belief has led to brutal practices such as violent spouse abuse and honor killings. Studies done by the Human Rights Commission of Pakistan show an alarming frequency of horrors committed against women such as lighting them on fire, shooting them, throwing acid on them, or cutting off their noses. An act such as this would typi-

cally be committed by a man, most commonly the woman's husband or a close relative, who believed that the woman had compromised her honor and, thus, deserved punishment.

Many men in Pakistan refuse to acknowledge that there is a problem, pushing the dangerous beliefs ever-deeper into the psyche of the nation. For example, even the highest judicial authority in Pakistan, the provincial advocate-general Khalid Rahnja, maintains, "Rape in the west is a sickness. Our society is not a sick society" (qtd. in Goodwin 51). This culture of accepted violence, undergirded by blatant denial, is the reality of both Benazir Bhutto and Mukhtar Mai. It is what ultimately defines each of them as a leader: "A deeper understanding of cultural issues in groups and organizations is necessary to decipher what goes on in them but, even more important, to identify what may be the priority issues for leaders and leadership" (Schein 273).

In 1988, the foremost religious leader of the time, Mullah Azad, declared, "A woman is restricted; she cannot be the leader of an Islamic country. What happens if there is a war, and she is delivering a baby?" Benazir Bhutto, the daughter of Prime Minister Zulfikar Ali Bhutto, would blatantly defy Mullah Azad's declaration. Her journey began in 1977 when her father was overthrown and charged with murder. She began to rally support, opposing the leaders of the time. After her father was hanged in 1979, Bhutto blazed into the spotlight of Pakistan's political world as "the avenger of a martyred leader" (*Woman in the News* 1) with "intense, almost blind devotion" (*Crossette* 2) to her father. In 1986, after a period of exile in England, she began campaigning for the position of Prime Minister. In an ironic twist of events, she became pregnant during the race, bringing Mullah Azad's question to many people's minds. Despite her pregnancy, Bhutto campaigned fifteen hours a day and, ultimately, won; she said, "General Zia called the first democratic elections since 1977 when he learned that I was pregnant, thinking that a pregnant woman couldn't campaign, I could, I did and I won so that disproved that notion" (*Women in Power*).

Thus, Benazir Bhutto became the first woman to head a modern Muslim state. Shortly after her election, she freed many prisoners from "social prisons" (Weiss 435). She also lifted press censorship which led to a slightly different public portrayal of women. While neither of these efforts led to any long-term systemic changes, they were symbolic; per-

haps change could happen in the future. Thomas Dye's description of this concept in Understanding Public Policy offers insight into the importance of Bhutto's attempts: "symbolic impact deals with the perceptions that individuals have of government action and their attitudes toward it. Even if government policies do not succeed in eliminating poverty, preventing crime, and so on, the failure of government to *try* to do these things would be even worse" (Dye 336). Even so, her efforts were not enough to keep her from being overrun by the problems that faced Pakistan. Unable to organize her party in Parliament, she could not contend with the weak economy, ethnic strife, corruption, the smuggling of arms, heroin trafficking, and intense opposition from former leaders of General Zia's regime.

Because of this, Benazir Bhutto was forced out of office based on accusations of corruption and incompetence after just twenty months in office. President Ishaq Khan claimed that Bhutto had been involved in paying illegal inducements to buy parliamentary support, had ridiculed national judiciary and the Senate, and had "willfully undermined and impaired" the workings of provincial governments (Bhutto is Dismissed 1). However, after the man who replaced her, Nawaz Sharif, was also removed on corruption charges, she returned and was voted back into her former position. Echoing past promises, she affirmed that efforts would be taken to repeal the Hudood Acts. However, when asked specifically about her plans, she offered proposals focusing mainly on elite women who suffered little in comparison to the rest of the nation's female population. In 1996, she was removed on corruption charges a second time, and, once again, had not achieved any of her proposed goals. The Human Rights Watch reported,

Although the government took a few positive, if symbolic, steps such as announcing a cabinet decision to ratify the Convention of Discrimination Against Women, setting up a Senate inquiry commission on women, and establishing police stations staffed by women, in practice most women continued to be denied due process and equality before law, and few abusive police officers were prosecuted. (Human Rights Overview)

In 1999, after being convicted of taking kickbacks from a Swiss company and sentenced in absentia to five years in prison (Benazir Bhutto), she

left to live in exile. On October 18, 2007, she returned; “her arrival procession on October 18 demonstrate[d] the strength of her Pakistan People’s Party, as did the quarter of a million loyal and enthusiastic supporters who went to Karachi to greet her.” (Gall 1). Planning on running in the parliamentary election scheduled for January, Benazir Bhutto is again stepping into the limelight.

Even though she was unsuccessful in passing legislation to benefit the women of Pakistan and her political journey has been turbulent, Benazir Bhutto has proven to be a clever and charismatic pioneer. Over the years, she expertly employed various leadership techniques to win and hold the office of Prime Minister, a seemingly impossible feat for a woman. Having grown up attending English-language schools and wearing clothes shipped from Saks Fifth Avenue, Bhutto’s first step towards success was embracing her culture and becoming the face that the Pakistani people needed to see in a female leader. Terrence E. Deal and Allan A. Kennedy, in a selection from their book *Corporate Culture*, explain that “people who want to get ahead within their own companies [in this case, countries] also need to understand—at least intuitively—what makes their culture tick” (Deal and Kennedy 294). Understanding this, “Bhutto took to Islamizing her wardrobe only when she began her election campaign” (Goodwin 30). Bhutto’s leadership is exemplified in this identity she created and maintained: she was a strong, independent, yet still Muslim, woman. She wisely embraced her culture, but set about to make it her own; she wore the garb, but did not let it be the defining characteristic of her person; she agreed to an arranged marriage, but entered into it, as she often said, with an atypical hope of finding love. She demonstrated that a woman could be as successful and independent as a man, while maintaining religious respectability.

Bhutto exemplifies the first component of charismatic leadership: envisioning; “the leader provides a vehicle for people to develop commitment, a common goal around which people can rally. . . . vision is also communicated in other ways such as through expectations that the leader expresses and through the leader personally demonstrating behaviors and activities that symbolize and further that vision” (Nadler and Tushman 10). Bhutto set a precedent and proved that, without sacrificing their Muslim womanhood or shaming themselves, women could succeed in the political world, a world thought to belong to men. She

explains:

When we first started out I think that . . . women had to show that they were as tough as men. I certainly felt that I was a woman operating in a man's world, and so I had to prove to the men that I had all the male qualities. . . . But now thirty years down the line, I think we can be more comfortable with the notion that it's no longer only a man's world. There are quite a few women out there and we women can start being more like women, we don't have to outdistance or outperform men. . . . We can start being confident about ourselves. (Women in Power)

Because of her example, the people of Pakistan have witnessed and, for the most part, approved the reintroduction of reserved government seats for women. Slowly, women began to climb the social ladder as Bhutto had so successfully done. In fact, in 2002, seventy women were elected to the National Assembly. After Bhutto, no one, not even Mullah Azad, could say, "[These women are] restricted; [they] cannot be the leader[s] of an Islamic country" (Goodwin 62). Although she did not pass much legislation, she shattered a stifling misperception simply by successfully balancing her role as a Muslim woman, wife, and mother with the position of Prime Minister. "Leaders create and change cultures" (Schein 273), and Bhutto was in the process of doing just that.

Unlike Benazir Bhutto, Mukhtar Mia, a member of the peasant Gujar tribe in the small town of Meerwala, was not born with a path to leadership laid before her. In vivid contrast to the charismatic Prime Minister, Mukhtar was a shy young woman who, after a peaceful divorce, lived respectably in seclusion in the home of her parents. In June, 2002, men from the powerful, upper class Mastoi tribe accused Mukhtar's twelve-year-old brother, Shakur, of raping a woman of their tribe and demanded that a Gujar woman be sent to ask for pardon for his terrible crime. "The Mastois always take their revenge on a woman of a lower caste. It's the woman's place to humiliate herself, to beg for forgiveness before all the men of the village assembled in a jirga in front of the Mastois' farmhouse" (Mai and Cuny 7); Mukhtar was chosen to be this representative because she was known to be a respectable woman. She spent her days teaching embroidery and the Koran, which she, illiterate like all the women of her village, had learned by ear. Even though many knew

the Mastois were simply trying to cover up having sodomized Shakur, the accusations had been made and the Mastois's demands, as always, had to be met.

So, on June 22, Mukhtar walked with her father and uncle to the front of the Mastois house where all the men of Meerwala were gathered for this important council meeting. She spread a shawl at the feet of the Mastois as a sign of allegiance and waited to be forgiven. However, she was grabbed by four men and dragged to a nearby stable. There, they raped her. When they were through, they pushed her out of the building, half-naked, to walk through the crowd that had gathered for the council meeting and back to her home where she would most likely commit suicide, the customary response to being so shamed. She remembers, "My life [had] just collapsed into such horror that my mind and body [would] not accept reality" (Mai and Cuny 11). However, despite her father's warnings and her brother's threats of suicide, Mukhtar, supported by her mother, went to the police. When she was summoned to the police station to make her formal statement, the press had already heard of the woman who was going to stand up to a powerful group of men and were waiting for her to arrive. Here, with her mother's words, "Fight. Someone has to be the first drop of rain" (Power 1), motivating her, she took her first step towards being a leader. She describes the first moment: "Ignorant though I may be of the law and our judicial system, which is never accessible to women, I sense instinctively that I must take advantage of the presence of these journalists" (Mai and Cuny 27). So, she told her story.

At this moment, Mukhtar stepped into the spotlight and the role of citizen leader. Her story helped garner international attention for the plight of Pakistani women; her courage and resolve enabled her to lead. Richard A. Couto says that "citizen leadership brings new responsibilities, new contacts, media exposure, and other trappings of leadership that, more often than not, citizen leaders would prefer to shed. They would like to return to their 'normal' lives" (13). This rings true for Mukhtar. After she was raped, she knew that "fate [had] just torn [her] from that reassuring life" (Mai and Cuny) she had enjoyed. Occasionally saying "I liked my life before the incident. I'm considered to be an honorable lady among people who live abroad. But in my society, I don't have my honor" (Power 3), she admits that she did not choose to be the leader of

the movement against the mistreatment of women in Pakistan. Despite this, she has led effectively, igniting change in her culture. Surprisingly, when fourteen of her attackers were tried in an antiterrorism court, six were sentenced to death and fined 660 dollars each (Masood). This was a landmark. Realizing this contribution, she said, "If courts start giving decisions like this, I am sure rapes will be reduced if not stopped totally" (Mother of a Nation).

Mukhtar's actions define her as a citizen leader. She courageously fought amidst a society that demeaned women fulfilling Couto's provision that "citizen leaders . . . facilitate organized action to improve conditions of people in low-income communities and to address other basic needs of society at the local level. Their goal is to raise the floor beneath all members of society" (12). She successfully fought against laws and practices that left women feeling shame and extreme sorrow, again taking on the role of a citizen leader by "protest[ing] and mitigate[ing] the shortcomings of [her] national and political leadership" (Couto 16). Nicholas Kristof, a journalist for the New York Times, creates this portrait, describing her as "a woman simultaneously ordinary and extraordinary, who transcended her role and started a broad movement for justice. The most pressing moral challenge today is to overcome the brutality and inequality faced by women and girls in the developing world, and Mukhtaran has become a leader of that struggle" (The Rosa Parks for the 21st Century).

After winning the case, receiving 8300 dollars compensation, and drawing international focus to the women of Pakistan, Mukhtar did not retire from her role as leader. Instead she founded the Mukhtar Mai Women Welfare Organization. She used her initial compensation money to start schools in her village. She is now running three institutions that provide elementary education to 700 boys and girls. The children are provided with uniforms, nutrition, pick up and drop off services, and books free of cost. Another major project is the Crisis Relief Center for Women. Its mission is to provide immediate support to survivors of domestic violence and rape. Women and girls from throughout Pakistan travel to Meerwala seeking shelter, asylum, and assistance. Through the center, Mukhtar works to provide medical and psychological aid, legal assistance, media attention, and a place to sleep (even if it is just a place on the floor next to her in one of the Center's overcrowded rooms). She has also started an advocacy project to create further awareness on

women's human and legal rights through seminars, conferences, and sensitization workshops. After Nicholas Kristof wrote about Mukhtar, people across the United States sent over 130,000 dollars to Mukhtar's foundation (The Rosa Parks for the 21st Century). She used this money to fund the Relief Center, purchase an ambulance, build a police station, and buy cows. These cows were used to start a dairy farm. This unique endeavor provides job opportunities for women, helping them to become economically self-sufficient, and, also, generates income to help pay the expenses of one of the schools. Because of her courageous and creative efforts, she is recognized throughout the world as an influential leader. Glamour Magazine honored her as "Woman of the Year" in 2005; Time Magazine named her one of its 100 most influential people in 2006; numerous dignitaries and politicians have supported her, including First Lady Laura Bush who declared that Mukhtar "proves that one woman really can change the world" (The Rosa Parks for the 21st Century).

Within her own culture, however, Mukhtar has run up against staunch opposition. She often has to browbeat parents into allowing their children, especially their daughters, to attend her schools because they believe "it makes them argumentative and they become unmarriageable" (Goodwin 5). The government of Pakistan has also stepped forward as a formidable foe. In early June 2005, President Pervez Musharraf attempted to bar her from traveling to the United States to speak to several human rights groups and to attend Glamour Magazine's banquet held in her honor. He said, "I don't want to project the bad image of Pakistan" (Masood) and only gave permission when he was condemned by American officials. In addition to this, intelligence agents follow her everywhere, confiscate her mail, and spread lies about her through the Pakistani press. In 2005, her attackers' sentence was overturned and they were released. Now, she is in greater danger. Couto says, "Invariably, citizen leaders are criticized early on in their efforts precisely because of their efforts to wake sleeping dogs and to expand the public agenda. Any political system throws up barriers to resist change. . . . The greater the change, the more likely the resistance" (16-17).

Refusing to be defeated by this culture, Mukhtar is, instead, working to change it. James MacGregor Burns says that transforming leadership, which Mukhtar exemplifies, "occurs when one or more persons *engage* in such a way that leaders and followers raise one another to higher

levels of motivation and morality" (101). Through her efforts, she has been changed; she says, "The time is long gone when I trudged docilely up that path to beg pardon in the name of my family for 'honor' of [the Mastois]" (Mai and Cuny 148) and proclaims, "I may be poor and illiterate . . . but I have ears to hear and eyes to see. Plus a voice to speak—and to speak up for myself" (Mai and Cuny 38). Mukhtar uses her various organizations as tools to transform those around her. In her memoir, Mukhtar describes the standard practices: "Girls are forbidden even to talk to boys[;] If a woman encounters a man, she must lower her eyes and never address him under any pretext" (Mai and Cuny 14); children grow up under the pretext that rape is simply a form of punishment; and marriage is often nothing more than giving a woman as an agreement or gift. In her schools, Mukhtar is working to combat these beliefs by providing education to both boys and girls, teaching them the dangers of accepting the current beliefs and practices of Pakistan. In 2006, during the graduation ceremony of one of her elementary schools, the children put on a play in which they acted out the dangers of early marriage; the marriage portrayed ended with the murder of the wife. Through all of this, it is clear that Mukhtar is not only fighting illiteracy and ignorance, but is molding the minds of the future generation. The battered and frightened women who come to her Center are also transformed. When they arrive, she works to give them the strength to stand up for themselves in legal battles and inspires them to live on their own; "they are victims with wrenching stories—and yet they are also symbols of hope, signs that times are changing and that women are fighting back" (Mia and Cuny xv). In fact, one woman, inspired by Mukhtar, has even started a relief center of her own in southern Pakistan. A true leader, "Mukhtar is chipping away at the old repressive way of life, and helping to usher in a new Pakistan" (Mai and Cuny xv).

Any successful leader has to understand and work within a culture. However, in the case of Pakistan, it was necessary for two women, Benazir Bhutto and Mukhtar Mai, to work against their culture, slowly shaping it as a potter shapes clay, molding it into something much better and more beautiful. As a result of their efforts, an ever-brightening spotlight on the problems of Pakistan and an increasing number of women demanding independence and respect has led to hopeful legislation. On November 15, 2006, the National Assembly, with the support of the Paki-

stan People's Party, passed the Women's Protection Bill, amending the Hudood Ordinances and giving women throughout the country hope. Seeing this, it is clear that Benazir Bhutto and Mukhtar Mai have, through their individual positions, succeeded in garnering international support and inspiring and empowering Pakistani women. They have helped in transforming the image of what a Muslim woman in Pakistan can be, and both are determined to continue. In preparation for her return in October, 2007, billboards lined the roads in Pakistan with a picture of Benazir Bhutto, her head covered with a beautiful piece of fabric, next to big red letters proclaiming the "Dawn of a New Pakistan" (Gall and Masood). At the same time, Mukhtar Mai continues to work tirelessly in Meerwala. She maintains the difficult duality of her role as a leader and a Muslim woman in the culture of Pakistan, saying, "I am battling against a system and I know it will take time, but I am trying to bring the first drop of water in a heavy rain. I want to make the best contribution I can, and pray to Allah for change" (Mukhtar Mai Women Welfare Organization).

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